[illegible]

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DIX.

APRIL, 1899.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

BY THE HON. JOHN A. T. HULL.

THIS Government is so situated as to make a large standing army unnecessary. The two oceans separate us from the great nations of the world. Canada, on our north, would make a good base for England to operate against us, but could not as an independent government give us serious trouble. Mexico and other American governments on our south are so overshadowed by the Greater Republic as to be no menace to our security. Under less favorable circumstances, this Government would be compelled to maintain an army of several hundred thousand men, as well as keep a large reserve ready for the second fighting line.

But the fact that our immediate danger is small is no reason for the entire indifference with which our army has been treated since the close of the Civil War. It costs very little more to have an army organized properly to meet the conditions of modern warfare than it does to keep up an obsolete system. The average American is so full of patriotic pride that he cannot conceive of a condition which would make the American soldier, regular or volunteer, inferior to any other soldier on earth. Our wars in the past have largely justified this estimate. But since our own Civil War, all armies have been organized on a new basis. When that war was fought, we had an organization equal to

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any that could be brought against us—we were on an equality with any possible foe. The rapid-fire, long-range rifle came in after our war had been fought to a successful conclusion. With new and improved arms, both artillery and musketry, came a change in organization. The old single battalion, with close order formation, gave way in all the armies of Europe to the three battalion and extended order formation. In the Civil War, with our muzzle-loading, short-range guns, we could get into close proximity to the enemy before being in danger; and touching elbows, two ranks deep, the troops on either side could make effective charge and counter charge. If any army should go into action with this old formation to-day, the loss of life would be appalling. An army attempting it would be destroyed before it could inflict any damage on the opposing force.

Before the bill providing for the reorganization of the army was passed last April, the United States had by law, in the event of our army's confronting an enemy, hampered it by an obsolete organization. The War Department, wiser than Congress, had adopted a modern organization and, so far as possible, drilled our small regular army in modern tactics. This was done in violation of law. But, in case of war, all regiments would have been organized in ten companies, single battalion formation, just as in the Civil War. When the bill was first submitted early in April, 1898—cast on the line of the three battalion formation, but giving only two majors to an infantry regiment, with provisions too economical for an oganization of any great effectiveness—it aroused such a storm of indignation in and out of Congress as to cause the overwhelming defeat of the measure. We were then within a few days of actual war, but so-called leaders in the House of Representatives declared that there would be no war, and that, if there should be, we must depend on the citizen soldiery. No increase of the army would be tolerated, and formation on modern lines was impossible without increase or reduction of regiments. The organized militia of the States saw in this moderate measure an attempt to keep them from active service, and brought all their powerful influence to bear to prevent a proper organization of the army. No bill would have been passed for the reorganization of the army, if we had not had on our statute books a law compelling the national militia, when called into the service of the United States, to be organized and officered

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the manner provided for the regular army. When the leading guardsmen learned of this law, they favored a reorganization bill. The guard organization was infinitely better than that prescribed for the regulars. But, as they were anxious to retain all the frills and furbelows of the guard organization, the bill had to provide for taking them in as organizations. War had been declared and the necessities of the Government were so urgent that this provision was accepted. It has cost the Government many millions of dollars, but it has also caused a general desire throughout the country for a uniform organization, and this will finally result in good.

The experience of the late war has shown the bad effects of drawing from civil life an army for immediate service. The placing of raw recruits in large camps resulted, as it always does, in sickness and discontent. An American is restive under restraint, and reckless in his violation of all rules of health. The American volunteer in the late war had the same characteristics as those of us who served in the Civil War—impatience of restraint and carelessness as to diet. If the Civil War had only lasted six months we would have had the same experience. It takes time to make a soldier. Given the best material in the world, it takes at least six months to develop the raw recruit into the reliable soldier. That is the reason why some of us wanted a regular army to take the first fighting line. The volunteers would thus have time to harden into a capacity to endure fatigue and gain the habit of obedience, which makes an army an effective fighting machine.

My attention was first called to this subject by reading the reports of the generals in command of the army at different times, and the urgent requests of every Secretary of War for the last thirty years for some legislation. The Franco-Prussian War conclusively proved that nations could not go to war on old lines, with old organizations. The time for leisurely fighting, when four to seven years might be spent in determining which was the victor, was passed forever. A conflict between nations must be sharp and decisive, frequently decided by one great battle. The terribly destructive weapons used put an end to protracted fighting. The old close order formation gave way to what is known as open order. Instead of touching elbows in line, men are now three feet apart, so as to reduce the danger as far as possible in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

action. This places more men in the support, and fewer on the firing line. It necessitates a smaller unit than a ten company regiment, and at the same time makes a larger number in a company efficient. Grant, Sherman and Sheridan urged a reorganization of the army, and pointed out the danger to the United States of adhering to our old organization. Finally, a commission was appointed to examine into the subject and report to the War Department and through that to Congress. Sherman, then commanding the army, had made a full investigation of modern organization, and submitted the following:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Washington, D. C., September, 1876.

Sir: In compliance with the resolution adopted by the commission at its first session, August, 1876, I have the honor to submit my individual views and opinions of the matter confided to our action.

* * * * * * *

Each regiment would * * * contain, for a peace establishment, 54 officers and 736 enlisted men, aggregating 790; or the

5 regiments artillery equal	60 companies equal	270 officers and	3,680 men.
10 regiments of cavalry equal	120 companies equal	540 officers and	7,360 men.
20 regiments of infantry equal	240 companies equal	1,080 officers and	14,720 men.
		1,890	25,760

Aggregating, officers and men, 27,650.

To increase to the war standard, simply add to each company 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 50 privates, which would result as follows:

5 regiments of artillery equal	60 companies equal	270 officers and	6,800 men.
10 regiments of cavalry equal	120 companies equal	540 officers and	13,600 men.
20 regiments of infantry equal	240 companies equal	1,080 officers and	27,200 men.
		1,890	47,600

To further increase for war purposes, add four new companies to each battalion, and we have—

5 regiments of artillery equal	120 companies equal	510 officers and	13,700 men.
10 regiments cavalry equal	240 companies equal	1,020 officers and	27,400 men.
20 regiments infantry equal	480 companies equal	2,040 officers and	54,800 men.
		3,570	95,900

The Germans now use companies as large as 250 men, so that a battalion of eight companies numbers 2,000 men. Assuming that as the maximum, we will have—

5 regiments equal 15 battalions of artillery, equal	30,000
10 regiments equal 30 battalions of cavalry, equal	60,000
20 regiments equal 60 battalions of infantry, equal	120,000
Making an army of	210,000

on a minimum or peace basis of 27,650. Thus an effective and well-organized army of over 200,000 can be created promptly "without the least confusion or disorder," fulfilling all the conditions of Mr. Calhoun's second great principle, which he regarded as of more national importance than the first.

On considering any paper organization it is safe to assume that about one-third are usually absent. This seems a large proportion, but it is the result of experience extending back for centuries. Good discipline and good administration diminish this ratio, while bad discipline and worse administration increase it largely. The usual causes of diminished ranks are wounds and sickness, furloughs and leaves of absence, confinement by way of punishment, details for cooking, for care of sick, as teamsters, care and distribution of supplies, detachments for escorts of trains and exposed points along the routes of supply, etc.

* * * * * * *

With great respect, your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN, General.

Hon. J. D. CAMERON,
Secretary of War, and President of the Commission for the Reorganization, etc., of the Army.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I became thoroughly imbued with the idea that we could not afford to longer delay army legislation. I was startled at the indifference to the urgent solicitations of all our great commanders and resolved to bring the matter before Congress. Up to the time of the convening of the Fifty-fifth Congress, the War Department had contented itself with recommending suitable legislation to Congress, and Congress had utterly ignored all such recommendations. Both were to blame, but much the greater share must be laid on Congressional shoulders. When I resolved to take up this subject actively, I found cordial co-operation in the War Department. The present accomplished Adjutant-General of the army aided in every possible way and furnished me with valuable information.

Encouraged by this hearty co-operation, I formulated the first bill on the lines suggested by General Sherman. It made the peace establishment only about 30,000 men, gave the three battalion formation in time of war, with only two majors. In time of peace, a regiment was to be composed of only two battalions. The third battalion was to be mustered out by discharging two companies absolutely and skeletonizing the other two. It was a compromise measure, but an immense advance on anything before proposed. It could not pass. Moderate in all its provisions, it cut down the number of officers, and aroused the antagonism of every man who hoped for a commission. The size of the company was especially obnoxious. To demonstrate that the proposed army organization was in line with experience in other countries, I showed that the proposed provision was below rather than above what is required, as to number of enlisted men in a company, by nations where the military arm is of supreme importance.

The bill provided that the President might recruit a company up to two hundred and fifty, but that, when a company reached one hundred and fifty, it was at its war strength and could be fully officered by the addition of one second lieutenant and mounting the captain. On this basis the regiment would consist of eighteen hundred men and fifty-eight officers. This was war strength. The bill made no changes in the peace establishment, except the addition of twenty-five majors for the infantry. In Austria, a regiment in time of peace consists of eighty-two officers and two thousand four hundred and sixty-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

six enlisted men. In France, on a peace basis, a regiment numbers sixty-seven officers and sixteen hundred and twelve enlisted men; on a war basis a regiment is composed of sixty-eight officers and three thousand one hundred and twenty enlisted men. In Germany, the strength of a regiment on a peace basis is sixty-five officers and two thousand and twenty enlisted men, while its war strength is seventy-nine- officers and three thousand one hundred and forty-nine enlisted men. In Russia the strength of a regiment on a peace or war basis is seventy-seven officers and eighteen hundred and ninety-nine men. Austria and Russia have no expansion from within in time of war. Their regiments are of the same strength in peace or war. Both keep large standing armies, and increase their war strength by the addition of new regiments.

As said in the beginning of this article, we do not need a large regular army in time of peace. So, while providing for a very slight increase in the size of the army, simply to make possible the battalion organization for the peace footing, I made provision for a material increase of the war footing by expanding the regiment from less than one thousand men to eighteen hundred men, and a possible three thousand men, in the discretion of the President. In this I followed, in a modified form, the organization of the German and French armies. There is very little difference between these two countries in respect to regimental army organization. Both have the three battalions of four companies each. Germany, on a peace footing, has two more commissioned officers and five hundred and ninety-two more men to the regiment than France, but, on a war basis, France has eleven more commissioned officers and twenty-nine more enlisted men to a regiment than Germany. They are both great military nations —armed camps, in fact. Both eagerly and promptly adopt every improvement in military organization, and seek in every way so to organize their armies as to make them the most effective fighting machines. Austria and Russia are equally alert to find out and adopt the best methods of military organization, and have large reserves organized into regiments which are ready to be called into service on a day's notice. They depend on these reserve regiments rather than on expanding from within. Germany and France do both.

In the United States, we have not the reserve to draw on.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

So far as the national guard is concerned, there are almost as many organizations as there are States. There is no uniformity, and therefore no good can come to the country from that organization, as at present constituted. It is purely the creation of State laws to meet the wants of the State. In Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Iowa and other States having a well-organized guard, it answers admirably as a supplement to the police force of the State, but that is all. In the late war, I think I am safe in saying that not twenty-five per cent. of the enlisted force of the guard enlisted as volunteers. This result follows as a natural sequence to the character of men composing the national guard. It is made up largely of men who can leave their business for a few days, but who cannot leave for one or two years. When the guard wanted to go into the late war as organizations, a large number very properly withdrew, and left only skeletons of companies, which were filled up with raw recruits before being mustered into the service of the United States. They were not well drilled and equipped organizations. In no sense would they compare with the reserve organizations of the military powers of Europe. Our experience in the late war demonstrated that the only trained soldiers the country could rely on were those of the regular force. Spain, fortunately for us, had no military strength, and so we were not punished for our long neglect of ordinary requirements of all rules of organization. Even little Switzerland has a superior organization, consisting of three battalions of four companies each, with eighty-one officers and two thousand two hundred and sixty-two enlisted men for each regiment. I was foolish enough to believe that Congress would pass our first bill. It did not add a single regiment or company to the army on a peace basis, but provided for expanding the army "in time of war or after war had been declared by Congress," to comply with the requirements of the modern science of war. The bill was unanimously reported from the Committee on Military Affairs. When it was brought up on the floor, the storm broke and ignorance and prejudice held high carnival. The bill was overwhelmingly defeated by sheer force of the lung power of members who have since confessed that they knew nothing of the subject.

When the third session of the Fifty-fifth Congress convened, every one recognized that some army legislation must be had.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The law enacted after war was declared provided that, when peace should be proclaimed, the regular army should be immediately reduced to a force not greater than twenty-six thousand six hundred and ten enlisted men, and the volunteers, all admitted, should be mustered out at the earliest day possible. The American volunteer enlists to fight, and becomes very restive when compelled to perform garrison duty. Members of Congress were being importuned to secure the discharge of the volunteers, and a condition of utter demoralization would ensue if any attempt were made to keep them in the service.

Facing this situation, I came to Washington before Congress convened, and, after full conference with the War Department, the outlines of a bill were agreed upon. It increased the number of infantry regiments from twenty-five to thirty, the cavalry from ten to twelve, abolished the regimental organizations of heavy artillery, and created a corps of artillery. It left the cavalry organization as we have had it for the last thirty years, and as all other nations organize this branch of the service. It increased the infantry company to one hundred and forty-five enlisted men, as a maximum, and provided about twenty thousand men for the artillery arm of the service, only two regiments to be organized as field artillery. The necessity of caring for the coast-defense batteries made the increase of the men for heavy artillery absolutely essential. The general of the army in his testimony before the Committee on Military Affairs, December 12, 1898, said:

"The increase of the fortifications and the great importance of fortifying the coast makes the neccessity for a large increase of the personnel of the artillery apparent to everyone. We have now batteries and fortifications under construction, which will be completed this year, requiring 195 batteries of artillery to take care of the enormously expensive guns, mortars, fortifications, magazines, ammunition, and everything of that kind. When the entire system is completed it will require 362 batteries for the coast of the United States."

The House bill did not provide for as many men in the artillery as every expert said would be necessary. We thought men could be arranged in smaller squads and thus care for the guns, although we did believe there should be a large increase in this arm of the service. The force of artillery authorized at the breaking out of the war with Spain was seven regiments of about eight hundred men each, making about five thousand six hun-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dred enlisted men in the artillery. The Congress had already expended nearly sixty millions of dollars in coast defenses and had neglected to provide men to care for the guns. To go on expending vast sums to protect our coast cities and make no provisions for manning the batteries, seemed to me to be criminal negligence. You cannot make a modern artilleryman in a day or a month. In the Civil War, with our old muzzle-loading guns, the problem was simple, and a raw recruit soon learned all there was of it. But the coast defense disappearing gun is quite a different affair. It requires skilled men to operate a battery. The range-finder, electrician and even the men who handle the powder and shells must be thoroughly trained, to be of any use. We tried to show that it was cheaper to man the guns than to go on with an inadequate force. In the report to the House, I used these words:

"It is pertinent, however, to remark that according to reliable observation the deterioration of electric machinery in our coast forts when uncared for is 33 per cent. per annum, of other machinery 20 per cent. and of guns and carriages 25 per cent. A battery of two 12-inch guns complete with all its machinery costs $146,000; if uncared for the yearly loss would be about $44,000.

"In view of these facts, the fact can not be challenged that the recommendations of this bill touching the artillery arm are not excessive."

In the infantry arm, the only contest in the committee was as to the size of the company. One or two members interested in national guard organizations wanted a small company, but the committee was strongly impressed with the fact that the company could be made as large as one hundred and forty-five enlisted men and preserve the highest efficiency. So far as economy was involved, there was no contention that such a company would not be more economical than a smaller company.

General Miles, when before the committee in April, 1898, urged that a company be not less than one hundred and twenty-two enlisted men. He modified this in his testimony, December 12, 1898.

General Schofield, in his testimony before the committee, said on this point:

"I would say, though, in connection with the strength of the army, that it would seem to be wise to make the necessary increase by adding as few regiments as practicable and getting the necessary strength by giving very large size if necessary to the companies, making the enlisted strength very large in proportion to the number of officers; so, if the time comes, as I hope it may in a very few years, when a considerable reduction can be made

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the force now presumed to be necessary, that it can be done without any injury to the military effectiveness, by simply discharging unnecessary enlisted men, still leaving an efficient organization of 50 or 80 or 100 men to the company.

"I would not hesitate, with that in view to make the companies as large as 150 men, and I know from my own experience that with such officers as are now found in the regular army a company of 150 men can be made more effective than any new troops under new officers could be made in a short time; although troops organized as our volunteers generally are, of the character generally found among them, would become as good as regulars in the course of a few years; but for a long time a company of volunteers would be less efficient than a company of 150 men organized under such men as now exist in the army."

The greatest trouble we found in the late war was in the staff. Congress had been for years gradually cutting down the staff, until we did not have enough trained officers to care for any increase in the army. All at once our army was expanded from 26,610 to 260,000 men. This required an immense increase of every staff department. The new officers had to be taken largely from civil life. The regular army was short of officers—many companies having been reduced by detail or staff assignment to one commissioned officer to the company. This great mass of raw material could not be made effective all at once. A man without training could not make a good quartermaster or commissary in a week. The regular force worked day and night to supply the army and educate the new men. But when men and officers are both inexperienced, trouble may be looked for. This was the case in nearly every brigade in the army.

The bill, to correct this evil, made substantial increase in every staff department, and especially in the quartermaster and commissary divisions. After seven days' debate and contention in the House, the bill passed on the lines laid down by the Committee on Military Affairs. If the Senate had adopted it as it passed the House, and as it was reported by Republican members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, we would have had a splendid modern organization, providing for an army in time of peace of about fifty-one thousand men, divided into different arms of the service as follows: Infantry, about 23,000 enlisted men; cavalry, 9,000 enlisted men, and artillery about 19,000 enlisted men. Does any sane man regard this as a large standing army for a nation of 75,000,000 people?

On a peace basis, France has 1,000 soldiers to 62,589 of population; Germany 1,000 to 89,300 of population; England, most

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

favored of all the nations of the old world, 1,000 to 232,959 of population, while this bill would have given only 1,000 soldiers to 1,477,000 of our population.

The bill gave the President discretionary power between the minimum of 51,000 enlisted men and a maximum of 96,000 enlisted men. This larger number embraced all arms of the service, including a regiment of engineers, the hospital and signal corps. It gave a small fighting line and the volunteers could be organized and equipped to come in as reserve, or second line, without the confusion and suffering experienced during the past year. The relative size of the army on a war strength shows how moderate an increase was permitted.

France in war has 1,000 soldiers to 15,407 inhabitants; Germany in war has 1,000 soldiers to 17,427 inhabitants; Great Britain in war has 1,000 soldiers to 72,413 inhabitants, while under the House bill, the United States provided for only 1,000 soldiers to about 791,000 inhabitants. Of course this does not take into account the volunteer. The bill dealt only with the regular establishment, and the above is simply intended to show how moderate was the measure. The fighting strength of this nation will equal that of any other nation on earth, but it is not available without organization.

In the Senate Committee an unfortunate situation developed. It stood five Republicans for the House bill and five Democrats against it. No action could be taken. The 4th of March, when the Fifty-fifth Congress must adjourn *sine die*, was near. Finally, an agreement was reached by which the Republicans reported what is known as the "Hull bill" and the Democrats reported what is known as the "Cockrell bill." The chairman of the Senate Committee, in his report on the Hull bill, gave cordial indorsement to the measure, saying, among other things:

"Assuming, for illustration, that the Government will require about 100,000 troops for defense of the frontier, for coast defense, and to maintain our authority in the islands for whose good order and government this nation is responsible, together with a reasonable reserve force, the committee believe the organization provided for in this bill will make the most efficient military organization, at the lowest cost to the taxpayers, of any proposed."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"The organization of the artillery provided for in the bill changes it from the regimental formation to that of a corps of artillery. Let it be borne in mind how complicated is the artillery service, how many different

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kinds of guns it has to serve; that in future it will be charged with the torpedo service, and that the nature of artillery service in general will depend entirely upon local conditions—conditions that differ from harbor to harbor—and it is at once evident that an arbitrary division of the personnel into regiments is inherently vicious. The corps system, on the other hand, gives the artillery the adaptability and flexibility that are demanded by the ever-varying conditions of its service."

The bill was taken up in the Senate and, if it could have been brought to a vote, would have passed by a decisive majority. The Republican members of the committee for two days presented an unbroken front, but found the small minority determined to talk the session out rather than permit a vote on the bill. Senators, not members of the Committee on Military Affairs, started a compromise. Senator Cockrell, representing the minority, submitted what he was willing to support, and, after conference with the executive officers of the Government, the Senate Military Committee unanimously reported the Senate bill. The minority would not agree to the consideration of the House bill, as that would throw the difference between the two houses into conference, and would result in their defeat. The majority of the Senate were compelled to yield. The compromise bill, as reported to the Senate, was a good measure so far as the organization of the infantry and cavalry is concerned. It was practically the Hull bill, except that it fixed a minimum of enlisted men in a company, and left out all relating to the maximum number. It left the number of regiments of infantry and cavalry the same as provided for in existing law, but in the artillery it adhered to the old fiction of a regimental organization, and added two batteries to each regiment of artillery. It made no change in the regular staff, but continued a certain number of the volunteer staff until July 1st, 1901. It fixed the maximum for the army at 65,000 enlisted men, and authorized the enlistment of 35,000 volunteers to be organized into thirty regiments to serve until July 1st, 1901. The President had full power to appoint all officers of the volunteers, so that the State officers had no authority in the premises. The bill authorized a larger force than the House bill for immediate service, and after 1901 left a good line organization for the army and a permanent force of about 39,000 men. If it had passed the Senate as reported very little objection could have been urged against it, except the provisions as to the staff. When it was first considered in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Senate, Senator Hawley, for the Republicans, cordially indorsed the measure and Senator Cockrell declared: "In the sight of God and man, this is a just bill." With both parties for it, one would have thought the measure would have easy sailing. But Senator Gorman was not satisfied, and, with the aid of a few Democrats and Populists, he insisted on amendments which entirely changed the character of the bill and made it an inconsistent and contradictory measure.

The provision that a company should not consist of less than a certain number was stricken out, and the small minimum was written into law as the maximum. So we have, as a maximum of a cavalry company, forty-three privates, twenty-two non-commissioned officers, cooks, farriers and musicians, and three commissioned officers.

An infantry company has forty-eight privates, seventeen non-commissioned officers, including cooks and musicians, and three commissioned officers. This is the war strength. Regiments organized with such companies would be too absurd for China to adopt. The bill gives to each regiment a full band, and to each company two musicians. With respectably organized regiments, this would be all right; but with no men to speak of on the fighting line, it suggests the idea that this Government hereafter will make war with wind and attempt to gain victories with noise.

Section 12 of the bill gives the President the right to raise a regular army of 65,000 men. The bill fixes the number of regiments, the number of companies in a regiment, and the exact number of men in a company. On this basis the army would be 39,000. No one contends that the President can increase the number of regiments, or companies; and the law officers of the Government disagree as to his power to increase the size of the company. The two provisions contradict each other. In fixing the regimental organization it provides for the three battalion plan, but the Gorman proviso says: "That each and every provision of this act shall continue in force until July 1st, 1901; and on and after that date all the general staff and line officers appointed to the army under this act shall be discharged, and the numbers restored in each grade to those existing at the passage of this act." This absolutely destroys the three battalion organization.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The act creates additional officers for each infantry regiment as follows: One major, two captains, four first lieutenants. These are all "officers created by this act." No regular army officers will want such places, as without further legislation by Congress their acceptance of a commission would mean retirement to private life two years from July next. The bill was amended at the will of any individual Senator. It is, in its finished state, the worst kind of patchwork. No greater exhibition of the power of a Senator was ever given. A very small minority of the Senate, led by one experienced Senator, took the Senate, the House, and the Executive Department of the Government by the throat and compelled the acceptance of a measure which does not meet the approval of any man familiar with the subject.

It was not alone the fear of an extra session which compelled the acceptance of this act. If Congress had been called in extra session by the 15th of March, who could tell when a law would be passed? The House could act promptly, and in a week send the measure to the Senate. Under the Senate rules there was no certainty that it could pass that body before June. In the meantime, peace declared, the regular army would have been reduced to 26,000, the volunteers discharged, the Executive powerless and the nation disgraced. We chose the lesser of the evils. But I hope the fight will cause the country to demand a change in the Senate rules, so that a majority may have the power, as it now has the right, to legislate.

JOHN A. T. HULL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND PARENTS' DUTIES.

BY JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

OBSERVANT foreigners who visit us are apt to say that this is a children's country; that we pet and indulge our young folks to such a degree that everything else, except business, is given a subordinate place; and that the children take due advantage of their opportunity, ride over us rough-shod, treat us with scant respect, put in their little oar on all occasions, and habitually conduct themselves in a manner which we seem to think clever and amusing, but which, in any other country than this, would bring down upon them condign discipline. These observant foreigners point out that we are never tired of spending money on these children of ours; that there are books and periodicals especially for children, in vast numbers; that there are no such toy-shops as in the United States; that our children are dressed better than others; that immense pains are taken to provide amusements for them; and that, finally, no other nation spends such sums for the private and public education of their children as we do.

The number and efficiency of American public schools have become proverbial. Here, anybody, no matter how poor, can get any sort of education he or she pleases, free of cost, save to the public purse. To this cause are ascribed American intelligence and progress, and the triumphant democracy; for the children of rich, as well as of poor, parents are sent to public schools, and learn, in addition to other branches, the lessons of practical equality and fraternity. Of course, numbers of private schools exist and are prosperous; but, as a people, we believe in bringing up our young ones in democratic fashion, thereby guarding against the peril of their acquiring stuck-up notions, and imbibing the pernicious idea that there are such things as social grades, classes and masses—in a word, that one person is not just as good as another. And

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Americans, say these foreigners, are accustomed to instance their eminent men as examples of the benefit of public schooling. Our mayors, our governors, even our Presidents, were public school boys. The American public school puts out of date such institutions as Eton and Rugby, Oxford and Cambridge, in England. We have our Berkeley schools, no doubt, and our Harvards, Yales, Princetons and Cornells, for those who care for such things; but the great mass of the people, the Americans who control the destinies of the Commonwealth, went to the public school, and they send their own children there. It is the normal thing in America. Such is the verdict of our genial critics, which we accept with a complacent smile, and we add to it, of our own motion, that ours are the best children in the world, because they have the best fathers and mothers.

Privately, between ourselves, meanwhile, we are willing to admit that the American public schools are susceptible of certain minor improvements. For one thing, there are not quite so many public schools as there ought to be; cases are known, especially in our large cities, where children have been crowded out for lack of seating-room; and the papers print pictures of weeping little girls and boys and tragic parents appealing to justice and heaven at this unrighteous deprivation; and indignant writers hold up to us the hideous contrast between rooms full of diligent little ones, sitting in rows, with happy faces, studying their books under the benign eyes of incarnate wisdom disguised as school-teachers, and the child abandoned to the street, with its thieves, murderers, drinking saloons, gutters, sewers and general filth, vice and diabolism. Shall it be said that such things were tolerated in free, rich and progressive America? Never! So down we go into our pockets, and build more public schools.

Again, it is sometimes intimated that the teachers in the public schools are not always quite all they might be. Some of them betray signs of incompetence; more often, duties are given to them too arduous to be fully discharged by any merely human agent; occasionally, they are unjust, or lose their tempers; now and then, they seem to neglect their little charges, but, for that matter, it is hardly to be expected that any man or woman, no matter how well equipped, should give personal attention to each one of some hundreds of children, or apportion to each just the degree and kind of instruction that each needs, or do anything except regard

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the individuals in the mass, and impart to them, in conventional formulas, such information and guidance as the average child is supposed to require. The "average child," like the average man or woman, may be difficult to find; but we are forced, from necessity, to assume its existence. The only alternative would be to provide so many teachers that each particular child should be known to its instructor personally, and receive personal attention. But this is a counsel of perfection with a vengeance. Even as it is, the complaint is heard that teachers are not paid salary enough for their work, while at the same time our school-tax is higher than in any other country. Well, nothing in this world, even in the American part of it, is quite perfect. We may be well content to know that we are nearer to perfection than others, and are improving daily.

Admitting, then, that our public school system is as near to the right thing as it can be brought, let us inquire a little more closely into the condition and character of the product of it, the American public-school child, more particularly as it is found in our great cities. Of course, in the last resort, the public school is like other things, in so far as that by its fruits we shall know it. If it be so unexceptionable, then, inevitably, the child must be unexceptionable also. Is it so? Let us take a day from our business, and stroll about the streets, in the vicinity of the schools, at recess-time, or just after school is out for the day. At these hours the children fill the pavements, and are conducting themselves with that freedom and naturalness proper to the juvenile human being when emancipated, for a season, from the restraint of the public-schoolroom. They shout, they run about, play games, engage in mimic combats, indulge in lively dialogue. If we observe and listen, we shall get clearer and more correct notions of what they really are than by much watching beside the teacher's desk, or even by vigils within the privacy of the children's homes, where, also, spontaneity of speech and action is under restraint.

I confess I would rather the reader did this for himself than would I describe what, during the past year or so, I have learned by doing it here in New York. I did not have to go out of my way to get information; rather, at certain hours, it is difficult to find a retreat where the information is not thrust upon one. It is on earth and in air, it rushes at the ears and eyes, and permeates space generally. The children are not reticent; what is in them

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is let forth with liberality and explicitness. And what is it that these our children let out? The majority of them are well-dressed and well-conditioned, their parents are of the better class, and evidently expect their offspring to take a respectable place in the community. Well, we hear as much slovenly, profane, and sometimes even foul, language as might be met with in the city slums; and we see vulgar, mean, petty conduct enough to suit the language. To look and listen, with your eyes shut, you would think that not the children of our solid citizens, who must presently carry on the business of the Republic, but a lot of naughty little toughs and hoodlums were on the rampage. The words and phrases sometimes used by these small people are really unproducible on respectable pages, and the tone in which they are uttered is yet more significant than the words. Their games are not conducted on principles of fair-play, honest give-and-take; but the participants bully and take advantage of one another. One almost never sees a square stand-up fight, but the usage is to hit in the back and run away. In their disputes, they give one another the lie as a matter of course, and are neither shamed nor do they expect to shame by it. The little girls are outwardly more decent than the boys, but they nevertheless betray a certain vulgarity which is not of good augury for their future. Their poor little airs and graces, their fluent slang, their precocious flirtations—how sorry one is to see them! Now, all these children "know better." They act in this way because it is the fashion, and they prefer to adopt as models waifs of the streets rather than respectable people. So that it is no exaggeration to say that the whole school gravitates toward the level of the most disreputable little scallawag in it, or that they can pick up in the street outside. I am not overdrawing the case; it could not be overdrawn—in print. And, when the poor little things go home, they add hypocrisy to their other accomplishments, and modify their speech and actions to suit the conception which their parents have formed of what their children ought to be. Therefore, each parent believes that, however bad other children may be, his own are all right; and since, according to our Christian standards, no parent is concerned for the welfare of any but his own children, improvement is impossible.

Are the children to blame? Certainly not. Children are imitative, and it is the foible of human nature, mature and immature

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alike, to imitate what is evil rather than what is good. It is easier to lie down than to stand erect, morally as well as physically. Boys, if left to themselves, feel a certain pride in being "tough;" they think it shows manliness and the superiority of age. The point is, they ought not to be left to themselves, but the very opposite of what unregenerate nature suggests should be diligently drilled into them. They should be shown, by precept and example, at all times, in what true manliness consists. By whom should this be done?

This essay is not an indictment against our public schools. They may not be, as has already been intimated, perfect. The principles on which they are administered may in some respects be faulty. The means by which those principles are carried out may be susceptible of improvement. But, upon the whole, the State does, more or less well, what it contracts to do. It implants in children's memories certain classes of facts: whether the facts be wisely or foolishly chosen is a minor question. It teaches them arithmetic and geography and other things of the kind; it prepares the child to "pass" certain examinations. But, having thus fulfilled its contract, it stops, and does no more. It takes no cognizance of the children's minds, rightly so called; of their hearts, souls, moral and social ideals. Training in morals, decencies, elevation of thought and conduct, cannot be administered to children in the mass, but must be separately adapted to each individual. American parents take it for granted, however, that, because the State instructs their children in arithmetic and geography and the other things, it must teach them all the Christian and social graces into the bargain. The consequence is that the children grow up knowing more than the hoodlums of the slums, but knowing, also, what the hoodlums know, and, therefore, worse off than if they were ignorant altogether. We already see the effects of this in our national life. Public school children become our shopkeepers, lawyers, politicians, contractors, saloon men, bank clerks, brokers, manufacturers, millionaires. They wear good clothes and appear respectable—are respectable in many cases. But a certain, not small, percentage of them are base in character, rotten in principle, loving mean actions, pursuing degraded ambitions. Our most dangerous criminals are not the hereditary class, but graduates of our public schools. Most of the men whose careers disgrace their country, either in a small or a conspicuous

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

way, have been public school boys. Most of our women who go astray have attended public school. These people are gradually giving a tone to the entire community; their tendency is to sap the foundations of our national honor and freedom. It is vain to contend that many, even the majority, of public school children turn out well. That may be true; sometimes it may appear more true than it is, for, as children mature, they learn to cover up vices learned at school, and wear an outside of decency from motives of prudence. Yet, the vices may not be extirpated. The frailty, the defect, whatever it may be, remains, and, when the man or woman is brought to the test, it will betray itself. What are we going to do about it? The first thing we ought to do is to recognize the fact that the public school children who go wrong are not to be charged against our public school system, but against parental neglect and abandonment. They are the product of education by the State, unsupported by training in the family.

This essay, then, is not an indictment of American public schools, but of American parents' neglect of their children. We do not do our duty by them. It is too soft an expression to say that we entrust them to the State; we abandon them to it. America is the children's country, perhaps; but it is so in a sense less flattering to our vanity than we might wish. We pay for their book-learning, their amusements, and their indulgence; but we deny them what it is our chief concern to give them—opportunity to develop character. Yet, it is in order to afford them that opportunity, or, we might say, to compel them to that development, that we, as parents, exist. If we fail to do it, we might as well, as parents, not exist at all.

We are a busy people, devoted to business. We work hard every day to make ends meet, and, even after ends have met, we generally keep on working from habit, or from some vague form of ambition or another. We say we are fond of our children. We are fond of them, in a way—a selfish way. We see them after office hours, at meal times, on holidays; we amuse ourselves with them, indulge them, get them to show off a little, ask them whether they have been regular in their school attendance. If they answer this question in the affirmative, and we find them reasonably proficient in their studies, we are satisfied; we discharge our souls of further responsibility. We have entrusted them to the State, and the State takes better care of them than we could. For which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of us is as wise as the State, or has the State's resources? Have we the leisure to teach them arithmetic and geography? Or are we competent to do so, if the leisure were available? And even were this the case, it is not expedient to keep children too much at home; they ought to go out in the world, to measure themselves against other children, get knocked about a bit, and have the nonsense taken out of them. "Oh, no!" we cry, waxing enthusiastic; "there is nothing like sending children to the public school—entrusting them to the State!" In short, we neglect and abandon them, just as we neglect our civic duties—because we imagine we cannot spare the time to attend to them, but must be in our offices, making money, or seeming to do so. Not one man in a hundred, to put it very moderately, has any knowledge of how his children pass their hours out of school, of what they learn in those hours, and of what the consequences to them are.

The exceptional man does know. I have in my mind a man of my acquaintance, who sends his little son to public school, but who never lets go of the child's hand, so to say. He is one of the busiest men I know, working often sixteen or eighteen hours a day; but he always has leisure to attend to that son of his. To see them together, you would think he had nothing to do but attend to his son. He knows precisely what that child is studying in school, just what progress he is making, who his teachers are, with what other school-children he is intimate, and what his opinion of them is. He is aware of what kind of thoughts the child's mind is productive when the child is not with him; not what the particular thoughts are, but their character and quality. For this is apparent not so much in what the child may say or do when they are together, as in his manner of saying and doing, his tone, the scenery of his soul. He goes over his studies with the boy; he prays with him when he goes to bed at night; he talks with him, leading him on to express opinions, and to consider those which he himself expresses. He never allows the boy to see in him anything which is less than honorable and decent, or the idea to enter the child's mind that his father can be otherwise than conscientious, courageous and magnanimous. The two are friends and mutual confidants; the boy knows that his father is both just and kind—that he will always forgive the sinner, though never giving quarter to the sin; and, on the other hand, that a good or generous deed or word will always draw sunshine from his face, though

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seldom words of praise from his lips. Withal, there is no humdrum solemnity and formality in their intercourse. On the contrary, it is free, full of humor and playful irony, manly and cheerful, but mutually respectful. This boy passes through the loose-tongued uproar of the streets unscathed. His glance is straightforward, his bearing confident but modest. He is a boy to the tips of his fingers, but you cannot talk with him without feeling that the soul of a gentleman is in him; and a woman would know instinctively that he would protect her, if need were, to the last atom of his small strength. This boy, who is no fancy picture, is far from perfect; further yet from the goody-goody, molly-coddle kind. From some points of view, he seems all faults; faults of temper, of pig-headedness, of overbearingness, of selfishness, every now and then, due however to thoughtlessness, not premeditation. But he is quick always to make amends, and never happy till he has done so. The faculty of dissimulation is not in him; you can tell by his face what his mood is; there is none of that smug, demure meekness or sanctimoniousness which glosses the features of the young rascals who come into the house fresh from the lies and foulness outside; who sneakingly avoid your eye, or, quite as often, stare you out of countenance as they pour forth a flood of virtuous protestations. No; the public school has not hurt this boy, and there are many others like him; but his family has not neglected him. His family recognizes the nature of the function of the public school and where it stops; and, at that point, they come in and supply its deficiencies.

As for the others, nominally they have fathers and mothers, but in reality they are orphans; they seem to have homes, but their true home is the gutter—for they feel at home nowhere else. The parents are to blame. Neither public nor private schools, nor anything else, can absolve parents from their responsibilities. The plea of lack of time is a false plea; it is not the length of time you spend with your child that counts, but the use you put that time to. The discipline, the training, the inspiration of home admit of no substitutes; and parents will observe that, if they do right by their children, they will derive from the latter quite as much training and enlightenment as they can impart to them. While you are building up and polishing off your boy's character, he is chastening yours, and keeping you on the edge of your mettle. You may fancy that it is a privilege to your boy to have you

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for a father; but it is at least as much a privilege to you to have him for a son—provided you *are* a father to him, and not a mere idle and vicious appendage. And that sort of appendage is precisely what a large percentage of American fathers are. It does not mend matters to say that you are fond of your children, and, in proof of it, to paw them and kiss them, give them toys and candy, picture books, circus tickets, skates and bicycles; or to scold them violently and unjustly when they happen to get upon your nerves, or in your way. An ape can slobber over its offspring, and give it nuts or cuff it, as whim may dictate. Selfishness is at the bottom of our failure to give proper attention to our children; it is selfishness all the way through. We want the fun of having children, without incurring the liabilities. We want to have them around us, when we are in the humor, and to have them look nice, and display all suitable merits and accomplishments, but we do not wish to be bothered with the task of inculcating the same; that, we devolve upon the public school. We would not allow our most confidential clerk to engineer a critical deal for us in the market or on 'Change; but we have no hesitation in permitting a school teacher, to us unknown, underpaid, tired to death, averse from her or his occupation probably, and sometimes incompetent, to determine the lines upon which our own flesh and blood, with his immortal soul, is to take his departure in life; lines whose direction and grading will practically settle his future. The outcome of the deal on 'Change will immediately and perhaps vitally affect our pocket, but the outcome of the boy will not appear until he is an orphan in name, as he already is in fact, and, meanwhile, its symptoms are hidden from us by the boy's own precocious hypocrisy and our conniving blindness. And yet, children were created to go to heaven, while bank-accounts sometimes operate to incline their owners toward another place.

This is not a light matter, but an important one, quite national in its scope. It becomes more menacing every year, because the public school child of to-day is the parent of the public school child of to-morrow, and will do as he has been done by. Unless we mend our ways betimes, there will be no mending them at all. If the children do not improve, they will grow worse. Let us not forget that in old times they used to be much better in this very respect; American home life was not splendid or sumptuous, but it was pure and healthy in tone, and children were brought up strictly—too much

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so, if anything—in the way they should go. There were not so many public schools then; the State did not take quite so much on its shoulders, and parents took a great deal more on theirs. If the children of those days went wrong, it was not for lack, not of good counsel alone, but of good example likewise. America had not yet been dubbed a children's country; but it was a country where children were faithfully and honorably treated. Well, the *laudator temporis acti* has his labor for his pains. What is to come, is the point. Conceding whatever may be advanced in favor of public schools, it is nevertheless a truth that the greater the attendance at them becomes, the more sedulous should we be to counteract the evils incident to them—or to supplement the benefits, if it be preferable to put it in that way. All kinds of children go to them, and society is contagious, low society especially. The more the State helps the parents, the more should the parents help themselves; the more urgent becomes their responsibility. The more arithmetic and geography the school puts into the child's brain, the more decency and honor should the parents instill into his heart. The devil is always after him, and can attack him in a thousand ways; but the angels can reach him only through his parents; or, at all events, his parents have no right to assume the contrary. It is desirable, no doubt, that our children should have their schooling; but it is a bitter necessity that we parents should first get ours, that we should learn to realize what our parental duties are, and compel ourselves to do them.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT IS ORTHODOXY?

BY THE REV. PROF. FRANCIS BROWN, D. D., OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK

ORTHODOXY may be defined in the abstract or in the concrete. The former is easy, the latter is difficult. Orthodoxy is right thinking, or, by our usage, right thinking about religion. Nothing could be simpler. But as a matter of fact no one on earth knows, exactly and exhaustively, what right thinking about religon is. We have some right thoughts, perhaps many, but we have not all the right thoughts there are—we are ignorant about some things; nor are all our thoughts probably right—we are doubtless mistaken about some things. If we were exhaustively and exactly orthodox, there would be no religious truth of which we are ignorant, and all our thoughts about religious things would be right. We sometimes talk and act as if this were the case. But the case really is that only one Being is omniscient and all-wise. It is a result of the fall that, because we know a little, we suppose we know as much as God does, and so the promise of the serpent is fulfilled in caricature.

Although human orthodoxy is imperfect, we are not free from the obligation to be orthodox. Truth claims our allegiance. In no department of life does inability to render perfect service release us from the law of service. We are bound to be obedient, loving, faithful. We are bound to be loyal to the truth, to the full extent of our knowledge and judgment. We are bound to be as orthodox as we can.

But what shall be our standard? Amid our vacancies and uncertainties, what rule shall be applied? By some it is thought sufficient to point to the revelation of God. This is, without doubt, indispensable. God, in creation and providence, in nature

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and in the history of the human race, in His Written Word, in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit, in the soul of man and in the organic life of the Church, has made and makes revelations of truth without which orthodoxy is a faint and flickering shadow. But before this truth can be a standard of orthodoxy for us, it must be apprehended by us. And our ignorance and weakness are such that we and our neighbors apprehend things in different and often contradictory fashion. Then, since truth cannot contradict itself, either we or our neighbors must be wrong in these contradictory apprehensions of truth. Then it must be asked, *which* is wrong? We say our neighbors are, and they say we are, and who shall decide? And what has become of our standard of orthodoxy?

Now, it becomes evident at once, that it makes a good deal of difference within what limits the standard is to be applied. The standard which I am to apply to my own thinking is one matter. That which I am to enjoin or force upon my fellow may be a different matter. Honesty requires that what I sincerely believe to be true should determine my approach to orthodoxy. My individual orthodoxy is at best defective and partial, but it will become superficial, disingenuous and illusory as well, the moment it ceases to be my own. In fact, any other standard of my personal orthodoxy which I can myself apply, excepting personal apprehension of revealed truth, is a contradiction in terms. I cannot be loyal to any truth which I do not apprehend as truth. I cannot be really believing what I do not believe.

But, while my apprehension of truth is decisive for me, it is not decisive for any other man. Every man must apprehend truth for himself. Every man's standard must be within himself. Only in case all these individual standards should agree, could we make any one of them the universal standard. But they do not agree. They differ widely.

I may be very sure that I am right, and that one who disagrees with me is wrong. If I did not so believe, then there would be no real disagreement. I may argue and persuade to my heart's content, in the hope of bringing him to my position. But I am not thereby entitled to impose my belief upon my opponent, nor to despise and cast him out of my circle because he persists in differing. He would be equally entitled to impose his belief on me, and such a conflict of rights is an absurdity. Earnestly confident

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in our own respective positions, as we may each of us be, it is a social duty that we be modest, and each respect the other. Most careful and candid thinkers who have studied history learn the habit, paradoxical as it may seem, of calm security in their opinions, joined with an underlying recognition of the possibility of their making mistakes. The right of private judgment, and the belief that God alone is Lord of the conscience, refer to *your* private judgment and *your* conscience as well as to mine, and if God *alone* is Lord of the conscience then I may not lord it over your conscience with my opinions, nor may you over mine.

Thus far we have considered individual standards of orthodoxy. Orthodoxy, however, has a technical sense. In this sense it refers to the religious thinking of a corporate body, constituting the Church of God. No one of our existing ecclesiastical organizations can claim to present the standard of Church orthodoxy, any more than any individual man may render his belief the standard by which the others shall be judged and treated. Church orthodoxy must be found in that which the Church, as such, holds and is committed to, in fundamental and obviously necessary things, without which the Church will cease to be the divinely instituted society on earth.

All ecclesiastical standards of orthodoxy are imperfect, as individual standards of orthodoxy are; although since the Spirit of God dwells in the Church in a fuller measure than is or can be true of any individual, or any mere aggregation of individuals, it is less impertinent for the Church to put forth a standard of orthodoxy than for an individual, or a mere group of individuals, to do so. It appears at the beginning of the Church's history, and it has been verified times without number in all lands, that there are certain facts of actual occurrence, and certain experiences in the soul, and certain expectations in regard to the outcome, in and as to which members of the Christian Church substantially agree;—the facts, be it always observed, as distinguished from the precise interpretation of the facts; the experiences, as distinguished from theories explaining how they became possible; the expectations, as distinguished from opinion about the exact mode of their fulfilment. These are the common property, the common conviction, of the whole Church. Two remarks suggest themselves. One is that the ecclesiastical standard of orthodoxy must be valid for the whole Church, or it is not truly an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ecclesiastical standard; the other is that the standard of orthodoxy on which the whole Church agrees contains few articles, and very simple ones.

Consider, then, the relation of orthodoxy to our doctrine of the Church. The Church is one. What we call Churches, when we apply the name to different ecclesiastical bodies, denominations, communions, are not Churches in the full sense. We cannot speak of the Christian doctrine of the Churches, as we speak of the doctrine of the Church. In that signification there are no Churches, there is only the Church. Perhaps it would be better that we should always use the term "sects," ugly as it is, so as never to forget that they *are* sects, sections, segments, fractional parts, not the whole. After all, the ugly name is appropriate for the ugly thing. They are branches or fragments of the Church. It takes them all together, and doubtless more, too, to make *the Church*, which consists of all those, throughout the world, in heaven and on earth, who are joined to Christ the head and become one body in Him. Only the Church in this inclusive and full sense has the right to impose a standard of orthodoxy. No one branch or fragment can lawfully demand, in the name of orthodoxy, the acceptance of that which distinguishes it from another branch or fragment. Can the so-called Roman Church, in the name of the Church of God on earth, rightfully exact belief in transubstantiation, in the infallibility of the Pope? Not unless the Roman Church is the whole Church of God on earth, or unless there is no divergence of belief in other branches of the Church on these points. Can the so-called Presbyterian Church, in the name of the Church of God on earth, rightfully exact belief in a particular doctrine of the divine decrees, or a particular doctrine of the mode of the atonement, or a particular doctrine of the Person of Christ, or a particular doctrine of the future state, while it at the same time affirms that there are other so-called Churches of equal standing and piety, which differ from it on these points? No more can the Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Reformed nor any other fragment of the Church make its distinctive tenets tests of orthodoxy. When it does, it is using the name of the Church of Christ, and the divine authority committed to that Church, for the purpose of promulgating and enforcing that which the Church of Christ has never sanctioned.

But, it will be said, this takes away, at least in large degree,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the reason for the existence of the separate branches and fragments. Exactly. It is intended to do this. Branches ought not to exist separately. Fragments ought not to exist at all. That orthodoxy is the voice of the whole Church, and that orthodoxy ought to prevail in the whole Church, can have meaning only for those who really believe that the Church is one whole. And since a standard of orthodoxy can be set up only by a visible Church, the claims of orthodoxy demand that the *visible Church* be one whole. Œcumenical belief is the only orthodoxy. Even that is approximate only. The truly œcumenical declaration of belief has never yet been framed, and the best has been framed by ignorant and fallible men. But the most nearly œcumenical creeds—simple and brief—are the closest approach we have to a standard of orthodoxy. Orthodoxy, in these short, simple, yet immeasurably profound, historical and experimental creeds, testifies of Church Unity and demands it.

Consider, next, the relation of orthodoxy to elaborate systems of doctrine as Church tests. It follows from what has been said that such systems cannot be œcumenically imposed. The whole Church will never unite in any one of them. It follows, also, that no branch or fragment has a right to impose any one of them. The moment it does so, it is assuming to establish a sectional standard of orthodoxy. This it has no authority to do. It has no authority at all except what Christ has committed to it, and Christ has committed no authority to the Roman or Anglican or Protestant Episcopal or Presbyterian Church *as such*. He has committed authority to *His Church*; the various parts share in the authority, but do not thereby gain independent authority, nor the right to add to the ecclesiastical standard of orthodoxy what is peculiar to one or another of them.

Again, strict subscription, except for a very small body of persons, is hardly possible, and is inconsistent with growth in knowledge; loose subscription threatens honesty; broad and yet definite subscription is hard to secure, and when secured serves only to show the needlessness of subscription. Subscription to a long system, in any form, tortures sensitive minds, and drives away some of the choicest of them. But these objections are all more or less incidental. The fundamental evil of subscription to an elaborate creed is that such subscription is always imposed by a sect, and a sect has no divine authority to define orthodoxy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I am not saying that those of us who have subscribed to elaborate creeds have sinned in so doing, nor that those persons who asked us to subscribe were sinners for asking us. I am speaking of the system, which I believe to be a wrong one; and, if so, our personal responsibility is the greater, the less we are willing to perceive the wrong and to correct it. Great abuses are cured slowly. True, œcumenical orthodoxy demands that we, while acknowledging all the obligations we have assumed, and discharging them to the best of our power, seek to renovate the system, to cure the abuses, and leave the standard of orthodoxy to the entire Church.

No doubt, the historical divisions of the Church have been means of emphasizing particular aspects of doctrine, and securing their full development and definition. Each one of these divisions has some specific contribution to make to the comprehensive theology of the future. Perhaps these several doctrines could not have been wrought out without the sharp clash of mind with mind. But, when we consider the many types of doctrine that were harbored in the early undivided Church, and look forward to the re-union of many types in the undivided Church that is to come, it is impossible to hold any longer that Church divisions on the basis of different types of doctrine are intrinsically justifiable. It is because we have forgotten, in some measure, what constitutes the Church, and have exaggerated the importance of particular phases of doctrine, that our recognition of the value of these phases can lead us to justify sects. The office of the sects in holding up aspects of doctrine ought to be performed by schools of thought, earnestly discussing great themes with each other, as parties in a State debate great issues—all loyal to the State, and all with common rights in it.

This does not belittle the truth contained in the elaborate creeds, nor discredit theology. Theology is discredited when it is set to doing what it cannot do, and fails. When a fence is made out of it, to keep people away from a Church, or fit office-bearers out of Church office, it is discredited, because that is not what it is for. When it is made to appear, what it really is, the thought of Christly men busied with the highest themes, and apprehending them ever more and more, the human mind will take large delight in it. Turn it into a mere Church test, and the mind revolts. The ethical sense refuses to accept it as a test. Theology has indeed grown in the divided Church. But it would have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

grown far more amply, normally, beneficently, in a united Church. Truth does not need either prizes or penalties. It is better without them. They tend to exaggeration, repression, or distortion. Truth needs only freedom. Abolish subscription to a full theological system as a condition of church membership or office, and you strike off the bonds of theology, and give it free wing. In liberty it will live and mature; in a cage it pines away.

Consider, finally, the relation of orthodoxy to Church discipline. It results inevitably from what has been said, that Church discipline on the ground of false doctrine should not be exercised except when one of the œcumenical doctrines is rejected or assailed. As in the use of subscription, so in that of discipline, the fragmentary or local Church has authority only as authority has been given to the whole Church of Christ by its Founder and Master. In view of the confusions arising from our unhappily divided Church life, it is especially incumbent on each part of the Church to be extremely cautious in discipline on doctrinal grounds, and assure itself well that it is indeed attempting to vindicate a really orthodox doctrine, and not simply one which a majority of its members think important. A particular Church has no right to institute process against a Christian man or minister, because he holds or denies what is not involved in the standard of orthodoxy which the whole Church recognizes.

We attempt to justify ourselves, sometimes, with reference to discipline as with reference to subscription, by saying that no man is forced to enter our Church, our eldership, our ministry, nor forced to stay in when he has once entered. But observe the contradiction. We assume, as the Church of Christ, to exclude from Church fellowship or depose from Church office persons, in regard to whom we in the same breath say that they are good Christians and competent officers, and that they will find appropriate place and useful work in another branch of the Church. This we have no right to do. We cannot lawfully exclude from our Church, nor from our branch of the Church, any whom Christ recognizes as in His Church. We cannot lawfully remove from our ministry any whom Christ recognizes and places in His ministry.

A Church, let it be repeated and emphasized, is not a club, nor a political party, nor a voluntary association of like minded persons. *A* Church is only a branch of *the* Church, and *the* Church includes all those who belong to Jesus Christ, and has as its lawful

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

office-bearers all those whom Jesus Christ has called and through whom, in their ministry, He is graciously pleased to work.

Various puzzling questions of duty and truth arise, owing to our divisions, our elaborate creeds, our subscription formulas, and our defective understanding of what the Church really is. We must work through them patiently and slowly. It is a question to be decided in each individual case for itself, whether, or when, one who finds himself no longer in theological sympathy with those whose creed he formerly accepted, should seek other ecclesiastical association—go, that is, into another branch or fragment of the Church. But, certainly, no such branch or fragment has any right or authority to compel him to go, if he holds the œcumenical faith. Nor is condemning a man by inference a tolerable exercise of Church discipline. Deductive logic is not always a safe guide. Not every man holds opinions which syllogisms might deduce from those he does hold. Wise thinkers have shown apparent inconsistencies. Sometimes, no doubt, these would be removed if we could discern the higher unity. Two opinions may seem divided by an impassable chasm, when, if we knew the whole field, we should see, far back, the connecting path. It is monstrous to think of casting out a man for opinions he denies, simply because you judge that they ought logically to follow from opinions he affirms. There is no test of orthodoxy so good as a man's own, honest judgment of his own belief. One may, of course, be a liar. There is that peril in all human intercourse, with human nature what it is. But permanent falsehood about one's opinions is both difficult and rare. When falsehood about opinions is detected, then discipline has a more serious task than is often imposed by heterodoxy, namely, that imposed by immorality; we shall probably agree that lying is immoral, and that immorality does not belong within the Church. If, while holding the elaborate creed, a man finds himself out of sympathy with current interpretations of that creed, it is preposterous to say that he, on that account, should go to another branch of the Church. And as for attacking and seeking to drive out one who avows acceptance of the elaborate creed, because he holds some opinions which a chance majority, of average knowledge and average ignorance, cannot reconcile with some clause of the elaborate system, the very conception of it is totally inconsistent with the Christian idea of the Church and the Church standard of orthodoxy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Heresy-hunters who pursue this method are themselves the heretics, the schismatics.

Orthodoxy is not a New Testament word. Neither is heterodoxy. Heresy is, but it always involves an ethical offence—it is divisive, selfish and degrading.

The time will surely come when the Church will agree with the New Testament, and call nothing heresy that is not schismatical and immoral; just as the time will come when no orthodoxy will be recognized that does not utter the harmonious convictions of a united Church, and spring from a life hid with Christ in God, a life abounding in the fruits of the spirit, a life that seeks chiefly that "end of the commandment" which is "charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned."

FRANCIS BROWN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FUTURE OF CUBA.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER.

THE fate of Cuba and the Cubans no longer rests in the hands of a small cabal of mediæval and selfish statesmen at Madrid, intent only upon enriching the mother country, but with the people of the United States, who are to-day actively and impartially discussing the future of the island. The question is not how much the United States can make out of Cuba, but how best to make a prosperous, peaceful and useful neighbor of an island within a hundred miles from the shores of the Great Republic. The people of Cuba must disabuse themselves of the idea that the future of their native land is in the hands of some one man or any set of men. On the contrary, it has been committed to the care of a liberty-loving people, as jealous of popular rights as those Cuban patriots, who, like Marti and Gomez and Maceo and Garcia and Quesada, risked their lives to make their country free. That the people of the United States will deal justly and fairly with the people of Cuba, does not admit of doubt, and the closer the people of the two countries come together on a platform of mutual trust and confidence, the sooner a stable government will be established.

It may be well for our Cuban friends to remember, that a considerable number of the seventy-five millions of the American Republic have themselves exchanged for the Stars and Stripes flags that mean as much to them as the Cuban flag to the most patriotic Cuban, and around which cluster as tender memories as those which the flag of the Cuban Republic suggests. The great newspaper press of the United States is discussing all sides of the Cuban question as intelligently and vigorously, and as fairly and honestly towards Cuban interests, as it does our own important domestic questions, and no Cuban need for a moment fear that the conclusions reached will be other than for the best interests of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all concerned. If, at the conclusion of military occupation, Cuba is made an independent republic, it will be because the people of Cuba and the people of the United States, acting jointly, so decide. If, on the contrary, the future of Cuba shall lie in the still greater independence of American Statehood, it will be by the mutual consent of the people of the two countries. There are no other possibilities in the final solution of the political future of Cuba.

The more stable the government of Cuba, the more certain will be its industrial development. The closer and stronger the ties which bind Cuba to the United States, the greater will be the prosperity and the more rapid the reconstruction of the island. To the outside world Cuba has become part of the United States. To call the present situation Military Protectorate or Military Occupancy will not alter the fact that the strength of Cuba to-day is its close alliance with the United States. Commercially and industrially the two countries fit perfectly together. The products of Cuba can all find a market in the United States, while the needs of Cuba can all be supplied by its continental neighbor. The Cubans have had a taste of the prosperity which followed reciprocal commercial relations with the United States. The golden possibilities of absolutely free intercourse between Cuba and the United States must be apparent to the more intelligent Cubans. That sentiment for a flag and a country is natural and laudable cannot be denied; but in the final and mutual coming together of Cuba and the United States, the single star becomes not less bright by reason of association or companionship with the other stars, together making a harmonious whole, and representing all that is best and most hopeful for mankind.

A good deal of honest and intelligent work has already been done by the United States for Cuba. A new tariff has been framed and put in operation by the War Department, aided by experienced officials from the Treasury Department. The Post Office Department has inaugurated an improved mail service. The telegraph lines are rapidly being put in order. The United States sanitary authorities are laying their plans for a vigorous campaign against epidemic disease this summer. The Governors of cities are as rapidly as possible cleaning up the streets and preparing plans for modern sewerage and drainage. Under the direction of General Brooke and the immediate supervision of General Chaffee, a complete system for policing the rural districts of the island with Cuban

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

police is in progress of organization. For this purpose the Cuban Army will be utilized, as far as possible. The United States has abolished many onerous taxes, stopped the draining away to Spain of the resources and revenues of Cuba, and has rigorously applied all available methods and instruments to the building up of the island and to improving the condition of the people. It has endeavored to establish the principle that the island should be governed in the interest of Cuba, by Cubans, for the people of Cuba.

There still remains a great deal of work to do. The thin end of the wedge of the stronger civilization has been inserted, but time and patience and strength will all be required to drive it home. The programme mapped out is a long and expensive one, and more money than is at present in sight will be required to carry it through. The building of public roads, the establishment of public schools, and the inauguration of sanitary work are three branches of the civil government that must be pressed forward with all possible vigor, immediately after the scheme for policing Cuba has been completed. The importance of teaching English in all Cuban public schools must not be overlooked, because the Cuban people will never understand the people of the United States until they appreciate our institutions. A complete reform of the judiciary must follow. The laws relating to ownership and transfer of property must be revived, safeguards added to the laws relating to mortgages, and some of the old customs repealed. Savings banks must also be established, for no people can become permanently prosperous where thrift is unknown, and where there are no opportunities for saving the surplus earnings of the population. The Government of the United States, acting in conjunction with the Cuban people, has a serious and important work to perform.

The Government, however, cannot be depended upon to do it all. The people must get to work again themselves, and help in every possible way in the task of reconstruction. To be successful, this work should be begun in the right way from the foundation up, or it will become top heavy, and the second condition of the Cuban people will be worse and more helpless than the first. The population must be got to work again in its strong industries, and the fields must be made to yield in abundance, before enterprises, of which so much is heard, and the success of which depends so largely upon the prosperity of the people, can be made to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pay. Sugar, tobacco, mining, agriculture, timber, fruit production and miscellaneous industries are the true sources of Cuban wealth. The industrial and commercial future of Cuba depends upon how thoroughly and how persistently these industries are worked, and not upon distribution of foreign capital in enterprises which, in the end, must be fed by the wealth coming from the soil. For judicious investment there is opportunity in Cuba, but the scramble for franchises of various kinds has inflated values, and, unless conservatism prevails, there is danger of repeating in Cuba some of the follies with which the New South is strewn. The basic industries must be vigorously worked in Cuba. Unless this is done, the writer sees only trouble and disaster ahead. To do this successfully, the labor market must be enlarged by immigration, and to attract immigration the condition of the laborer must be improved. Where is the labor to build up the wasted fields of Cuba to come from? It is a hard question to answer. Efforts are being made by those who best know the needs of Cuba to entice labor thither. They should be encouraged, for, unless more laborers can be found, the return of prosperity will be slow and prolonged over many years.

The opportunities for American labor in Cuba are circumscribed. If the climate were more temperate and the dangers of disease less, there would undoubtedly be an influx of labor from the United States. Just as the restless and hopeful population of the Eastern States has migrated westward, and to some extent southward, in our own country, so it would find its way to Cuba if conditions allowed of extensive settlement and homemaking. In the opinion of the writer they do not, and hence the industrial rehabilitation of Cuba must rely upon other sources than the United States for its supply of labor. Of course, Americans will settle in Cuba and do business in Cuba, and possibly make their fortunes in Cuba. Not in the way they have settled up our own vast area by purchasing farms and building homes, but in projecting and pushing enterprises. In Cuba, sugar production has become two distinct industries, one the sugar factory and the other the *colona*, or cane-raising farm, or estate. The central, or sugar factory, often owns large areas of land, but does not depend wholly upon its own acres for cane. Some factories depend more largely upon the *colona*, or small farms which supply the cane. This cane the central brings to the sugar house by the aid

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of narrow gauge railways, extending over the estate and into adjoining farms. There are opportunities for farm laborers who can withstand a tropical climate, to settle on small areas of land and raise sugar cane. Every possible encouragement will be given to this class of immigrants. Mr. J. White Todd, who lived twenty years in Cuba, has informed the writer that in his opinion industrious immigrants from Southern Italy and Southern Spain will find ample opportunities in Cuba to establish homes and make a profitable living, raising cane for the sugar factories. If they are willing to work, the owners of the centrals or factories will gladly secure them the land and tide them over the first crop. This class of laborers, and the Canary Islanders, are the only ones likely to take up and work small sugar farms in Cuba. The experience heretofore with the negroes has not been satisfactory, though under a better system of government it may be different. The success of the sugar factory depends so largely upon the available sugar cane of the district, that the central is always glad to aid a laborer likely to become a thrifty *colono*. In coffee and tobacco there are possibilities on a small scale, and also in fruit-growing when roads and highways have been sufficiently improved to get the product to market. Herein lies the only feasible opportunity for small American capitalists who desire to live in a tropical climate. It is true that only a small portion of this wonderful island is under cultivation. In time it might all be utilized, the larger part, of course, in sugar. When Continental Europe tires of paying a bounty for producing sugar, Cuba must take its place as the first sugar-producing country of the world, a place it never would have lost had it not been for misgovernment, war and failure to promptly adopt modern methods when beet sugar first became a factor in the world's supply.

The particular lines on which the enterprise, ingenuity and capital of the United States can be utilized in Cuba, will undoubtedly be in the establishment of public and semi-public works and in the improvement of methods of production. Here are some of the enterprises likely to be taken up by American and English capitalists:

a. Sanitary Improvements and Water Works.

b. Street Railways and Light Railway Transportation in Suburban Districts.

c. Gas Works and Electric Lighting.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

d. Unifying and Extension of Railway System.

e. Establishment of Better Facilities for Coastwise Transportation.

f. Navigation between Cuba and the United States.

g. Wharfage, Lighterage and Public Warehouses.

h. Telegraphic and Telephone Services.

i. Public Roads and Highways.

j. Savings Banks and Financial Institutions to aid commerce and industry.

k. Places of Amusement, Tropical Gardens and Hotels.

The directing hand of American enterprise will be soon felt in these branches of modern endeavor, and the effect must be an improved condition of life and of morals. To make these enterprises profitable, however, the real productive forces of the island must first be revived, and, if possible, increased. The strength of the building of our own nation lies in the fact that our productive powers were developed first, and the modern improvements and conveniences have been gradually coming along in the proper order. Nothing could be more unfortunate for Cuba than a wild and speculative plunge in the above direction, before the real strength of the island is again concentrated and put in vigorous working order. In the first place, it would temporarily take away the working forces from the land. In the second place, these enterprises cannot be made self-sustaining until normal productive conditions are restored. The effect, therefore, would be loss of capital and disappointment. The objective and immediate point for good work should be the land. If the new industrial impetus shall be in this direction, the Cuban problem will be simplified and the future of Cuba full of promise.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEXICAN HACIENDAS—THE PEON SYSTEM.

BY PRINCE A. DE ITURBIDE.

THE Mexican hacienda or farm is the most typical institution of the New World. It is the one establishment of Caucasian America that has no prototype, reflecting, as it does, the conditions of life that followed the Conquest, and having been little affected by the social transformations that developed the American world of to-day out of the world that it was when, yet, each Caucasian inhabitant of New Spain was styled a *Conquistador* and was distinguished from the conquered Aztec as *gente de razon*—a man of reason.

The relations between conqueror and conquered became the opposite, however, of what the conquest itself had foreshadowed that they might be, for never were circumstances better calculated to develop the brutal instincts of adventurers than were those that obtained in Mexico in the first half of the sixteenth century. But, the humane influence of the clergy prevailing, laws were never more benign than the ones enacted by the race of Cortez to govern the race of Montezuma; and the code that contains them remains a monument to Christian humanity, such as in Spanish America alone marks the passage of European power over a conquered land.

As to the conquered territory, its riches were, as they now are, in its mines and its haciendas. Around the mining centers, towns sprang up that followed the fortunes of the interests out of which they grew; some of them are among our larger cities. But out of the farming interests grew the hacienda, which is the origin of our customs, the basis of our society and, until very recently, was the main spring of our politics. And it is to-day, as it has always been, the surest foundation of our wealth. We can compete with the farmers of almost every region of the earth. Our sugar-cane and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tobacco are equal to any that grow on this hemisphere; our coffee, at different expositions, has been rated higher than any of its competitors; our vanilla, cocoa and other staples are of the first quality. Every fruit known to the tropics thrives in México. Our flora is proportionately rich; our forests produce every variety of the resins, barks and woods that are used in medicine and in the arts—our india-rubber forests alone are an item of incalculable wealth; and the products of the colder climates thrive on our table lands, though some of them do not attain there the same degree of perfection and abundance as in more northerly latitudes.

As a consequence of these natural advantages, and in the absence of extensive commercial or industrial enterprises, Mexican fortunes were made mostly, and practically all invested, in haciendas, the owners of which constituted, until 1860, the richest class of men in America.

The haciendas that were established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries served, in some measure, the same ends that were attained in Europe by the feudal castles of the Middle Ages: they not only attached populations to agricultural districts, but, in many instances, were the sole strong-holds of civilization in vast, sparsely peopled regions, where they afforded the only protection and shelter upon which travellers and pioneers could depend. These conditions obtain to-day in those remote parts of the country which, for different reasons, have not yet benefited by the enterprise that, of recent years, has begun a very active development of Mexican interests.

Hacienda houses, consequently, were built with a view, not only to the accommodation of their future inmates and to the exploitation of the property, but to resistance to armed bands against which the government could not be relied upon for protection. They were frequently built, too, on a scale of lavish extension. This is true especially of the haciendas of the religious Orders, whose means, pecuniary and otherwise, were ample, and, above all, whose purposes were more varied; for the haciendas of the clergy, besides being what other haciendas were, served as outposts in the spiritual conquest that assimilated the Aztec vassals of the Catholic Kings into the grand fabric of the Spanish Empire.

A sociological history of the hacienda in Mexico would be an interesting and extensive work, and its importance is an assurance that it will be written some day. What has been said above, how-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ever, conveys a general notion of the origin and significance of haciendas as social factors.

The house of a great hacienda is imposing in appearance, on account, usually, of its size rather than of its architectural proportions. It is generally built around a large court, and, whether of one or two stories, conveys the impression of having been erected solely with a view to durability and spaciousness. The construction is invariably of stone or sun-baked bricks, plastered and painted, and, in most cases, presents an even elevation, broken only by grated windows, a *porte cochère* and loop-holes for musketry. This structure contains the offices, apartments for the owner, for the two or three principal employees and their families and for the servants, store-rooms, stables for saddle and for carriage horses, carriage space, and an indefinite number of spare rooms, according to circumstances. Conveniently situated in relation to the main building, are the habitations of employees, the huts of the peons, some times the *posada* or inn, for the accommodation of travellers, the church (which usually is a pretentious structure), the store, where every commodity of peasant life is for sale, the vast stables for horses, mules and oxen, store-houses for the produce of the hacienda, and others for agricultural implements, the wheelwright, blacksmith and carpenter plants, the saddler's and cobbler's shops, the loom, the bakery—in sum, all the attributes of a village, which an hacienda of this class is, practically, having a population of from five to fifteen hundred inhabitants.

It must not be supposed that, since the hacienda is a singular exponent of conservatism, it is, in any sense, a factor of retrogression or of stagnation. On the contrary, the great haciendas are in line with the scientific progress of the day, and in advance of the average towns in the trades and in mechanical establishments. It is in the rules that govern its community that the hacienda is conservative—and happily so; for those rules constitute the nearest approach to a solution of the labor question that our times afford, whilst by them the racial question is eliminated from the problems of life.

I have read a good deal that is erroneous, in the writings of English-speaking travellers, concerning the peon system. It may as well be said that a peon is a day-laborer—not necessarily a field hand; but, taking the word in the latter restricted sense, the peon

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

system is the only one in force, on this continent, that regulates the relations between capital and labor to the satisfaction of both. It does not obtain throughout the whole of Mexico with unvaried details; what I say concerning it applies to the middle belt of Mexican States, as distinguished from the ones bordering on our northern frontier and from that portion of the country known as Tierra Caliente. But variations in the peon system are not material in those different sections, except in so far as the diversity of climate and of agricultural products implies a corresponding diversity in labor and in the exigencies of life. The greater or less abundance of field hands, also, affects the system in question. In fact, each of the larger haciendas has its own unwritten constitution originating in its own special circumstances as well as in national or in regional ones, and dating back, as a rule, from one to three centuries; because few of these haciendas are of recent establishment. They may have been transformed in different ways, but their foundation is older, in most cases, than the century; and their traditional continuity is ensured by peon families and others that, in each case, are identified, by birth or by marriage, with the hacienda.

The peon, with rare exceptions, is of the Indian or mixed races. He is bound by debt to the hacienda on which he works, and, regardless of color, he may rise, along the scale of promotion, to the highest employments on the place.

The indebtedness referred to in the preceding paragraph is one of the essential features of the peon system, and is contracted by peons, either directly or by voluntary inheritance. In the former case, a peon seeking employment presents himself to the Administrator—by which title the manager of an hacienda is known—and asks for an *enganche*, that is, a retainer, the amount of which, as a rule, varies between ten and thirty dollars. If the applicant be acceptable, the retainer is paid, and the peon becomes part and parcel of the establishment. If he happens to be indebted to another hacienda and, for his own reasons, is changing employers, his debt being a recommendation, larger amounts than those named will be advanced to buy the debt and allow the peon a cash margin. His contract obliges him to work for the hacienda until his debt is cancelled. On the other hand, his prerogatives are such as no other laborer in the world enjoys. In the first place, it is tacitly understood that, while the peon remains in the employ of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the hacienda, his debt will not be cancelled, but, on the contrary, that it will be increased, until, if ever, his children are pleased to assume it, or death or old age wipes it out. The debt may not be sold, without his consent, except to a new owner of the hacienda. The peon is free, however, to change creditors at will. Only a part of his earned wages may be applied, each week, to his debt. Each week, he receives rations, sufficient for his maintenance and for that of his family. Each year, he and his family receive an ample supply of clothing. Medical services are furnished them, free of expense, and the sums of money that they may require for baptisms, confirmations, marriages or burials are advanced to them, regardless of the balance that the peon's account may show against him. Haciendas, such as are described in this paper, have schools to which the peon may—and, often, must—send his children. He is furnished space, of course, and material for the construction of his hut, and is entitled to the use of a fair measure of ground, which he cultivates for his own benefit, with the hacienda's stock, implements and seed. Finally, there are two days in the year on each of which the peon receives extra wages amounting to several dollars. And when, through age or accident, the peon is no longer able to work, he becomes a charge of the hacienda.

One of these establishments, in the State of Puebla, in 1887, furnished *data* that throw light upon the points in question. The number of the hacienda's inhabitants (men, women, and children) was about sixteen hundred, and their aggregate indebtedness to the owner amounted to a sum of more than twenty-six thousand dollars, of which one peon alone owed fifteen hundred. Several of the peons were free of debt, and a few of them were the hacienda's creditors. As the women and children were not considered in the financial figures, the same showed an average indebtedness of about seventy dollars per peon.

The women are very industrious, and, though not called upon by the hacienda to do field work, never fail to help the men in tasks from which their sex does not debar them. Their names do not figure on hacienda rolls, their earnings and expenses being entered on the accounts of the men of their families. In the harvest season, for instance, it frequently happens, at the end of each day, when the amount of a peon's work is noted, that he is credited with two, three or more days' extra work that has been accomplished by the women of his family.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the whole, a peon's treatment by his white employer and officers is fair; whilst the hacienda employee of his own race is less considerate. He is intelligent, and is gifted, to a proverb, with physical endurance. He is influenced by habits and traditions inherited from his early Christian, and earlier pagan, fathers, and his life is so judiciously planned by the system that governs it that he can scarcely make it an unhappy one.

There, then, is a numerous class of human beings who are born, not only in poverty, but in debt, and heirs, by natural law, to all the misery of the proletariat—to which they would be a prey, if the peon system were not there to solve their problem of life. As it is, from his cradle to his grave, the peon will never lack food, raiment or shelter. His wife and his children will never know the pinch of hunger. If he has the capacity to rise above his class, the hacienda will afford him the opportunity to do so. If he goes through life an insolvent debtor, still at the hacienda he will have an open credit, and, not only his needs, but, in a measure, his limited appetite for the superfluous will be satisfied. In a word, he will be above the proletariat, and that through no charity of his employer; for all that is done in his interest is his due.

The peon system affords the farmer proportionate advantages. It is less expensive than others—so much so that, in many instances, peon labor competes successfully with machinery. The prerogatives and perquisites that it secures to the field hands could not be replaced by increased wages of reasonable amounts; hence, the owner secures greater satisfaction among his laborers, by this system, than he would by others that demand larger pecuniary disbursements. Then, the laborer becomes identified with the hacienda. It is his home, and he takes a natural interest in its welfare; whilst his relations with the owner are such as to preclude the antagonism that so often redounds to the detriment of both employer and employee.

This solution of the labor question is due to the clergy of the early Mexican church, who, perhaps, did not conceive the peon system, as such, but whose humanitarian efforts in behalf of the Aztec race constituted one of the forces of which the system in question is a resultant. It perhaps presents imperfections, but improvement may be sought in keeping with its principles; for it is an excellent general formula that has stood long and varied tests, with the result that Mexican haciendas collect an indigent popu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lation into communities that know no want, whilst they furnish the most remunerative safe investment to be found in this hemisphere.

Our commercial isolation in past years explains, better than any other cause, perhaps, the disproportion that existed between the market value of haciendas and their productive capacity; and, though the ratio thus effected is being reduced gradually to normal standards, the effect of pre-existing conditions is felt still in the market for Mexican rural property. This circumstance is due, in great measure, to the fact that foreign capital has sought, in Mexico, employments similar to those which are most lucrative in the countries from which it has been imported, foreign capitalists, as a rule, being uninformed as to our agricultural advantages.

It would be difficult to formulate these advantages in terms applicable to our lands, in general, otherwise than by saying that they are perhaps unrivalled, and certainly, unexcelled. A mountainous country in the region of a tropic necessarily presents the most varied agricultural features within limited areas of its surface. This fact is strikingly manifested in that zone of Mexican territory that lies between the Tropic of Cancer and the seventeenth degree of northern latitude, and it has an extreme expression in districts that are contiguous to the Peak of Orizaba, where, within a radius of fifteen miles, there are lands that produce very nearly every agricultural staple of North America—ranging from coffee and other tropical products to root-grass, which, among plants of known usefulness, is the one that thrives nearest to the limit of vegetation. In regions such as the one in question, relative altitude, of course, is the most important agricultural factor; but there are many other circumstances that do not prevail elsewhere and that exercise decisive influence on agricultural matters, producing, in this sense, material differences between lands of the same altitude, latitude and geological formation.

The financial feature of haciendas is subject, however, to less variation, within any one of the three climatic divisions of our territory, namely, the "Cold," the "Temperate" and the "Hot" countries; but, among haciendas of different climates, there is a difference in the profits derived from them that is greatly in favor of properties in the warmer country. The conservative rule for valuation of haciendas, in general, is that they should pay for themselves in five years, if the income derived from them be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

placed, at compound interest of six per cent., during that time; or, in the concrete, that an hacienda which yields an average income of, for example, fifty thousand dollars each year, has a market value of a little more than $280,000—to which must be added the peon debt, the cost of agricultural implements, and other amounts aggregating, in all, a capital upon which the hacienda will pay a yearly interest of fourteen or fifteen per cent. Such was, at least, the standard, until a few years ago, and I doubt that it has been materially modified. It does not convey an idea, however, of the more profitable rural investments that have been made, of late years, in Mexico, especially in plantations of coffee. It is probable that few, if any, of these properties yield, at the present time, a yearly income of less than twenty per cent. of the amount for which they could have been purchased in 1892; whilst a majority of those that were established during the "coffee boom", five or six years ago, pay now an annual interest of from forty to one hundred and fifty per cent. on the sum of their cost.

Of the haciendas of the cold climate, those devoted to the maguey (American agave) are said to be the best. They present the unique feature, at least, of their income being a daily one; whilst their specialty is but little affected by climatic irregularities. The maguey, among species of the vegetable kingdom, is second to the bamboo in varied usefulness; its staples, however, are pulque, another alcoholic beverage, known as Tequila, and a very strong though coarse fiber called istle. Henequin, also, is the fiber of a species of the maguey. The species of agave that produces pulque—which is the fermented sap of the plant—is similar in shape to those of which specimens are found in the gardens of this country; but its leaves, which are uniformly green, attain, in six or seven years, a full growth of from five to ten feet in length, and of proportionate breadth and thickness. These leaves converge to a common origin, where they form a cup into which the sap flows when the maguey has reached maturity, and from which the liquid is taken, twice each day, for a period of three months; after which, the plant dies. The sap is subjected to a process of fermentation, and in three days becomes pulque ready for the market, where it must be consumed within forty-eight hours, or be lost. So that the agricultural advantages of pulque haciendas over others are counteracted, in some measure, by commercial risks—not in a degree, however, to prevent them

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from being favored properties, as investments, among Mexican capitalists. Pulque is a mild intoxicant, medicinal, and essentially a drink of the people, concerning the discovery of which there are different romantic Aztec traditions.

Tequila, the other liquor referred to above, is obtained, by distillation, from different parts of the maguey.

It is not my purpose to deal with agricultural technicalities, but a word concerning the use of machinery on haciendas may be in place, if only in explanation of facts that sometimes have been misunderstood. Agricultural methods, of course, have not reached, in Mexico, the degree of perfection that they have attained in older countries; and there is every reason to suppose that the large acreage of rural properties, in that country, and the extreme roughness of its soil will be obstacles, in many instances, rather than incentives to advancement in the above sense. But the well-conducted haciendas are fully equipped with machinery. I do not mean to say by this, that we use all the modern implements that are successfully adopted here in agricultural pursuits, but that we do use the ones that present material advantages over the methods that they are intended to replace. Many of those mechanical devices are not adapted to our soil in some instances, or to our requirements in others; or, being otherwise desirable innovations, they can not successfully compete with peon labor. As an example, I may cite the case of two haciendas in the valley of Esperanza, where, after repeated experiments and mechanical modifications, the wheat drill proved to be inefficient as a substitute for hand sowing in combination with the "Egyptian plow," on account, be it said, of the nature of the soil and of other local conditions—and the good will of the establishments in question may not be doubted, for they did more than any other hacienda of their size and importance, in the State of Puebla, to abet the adoption of advanced methods in agriculture.

This industry, in Mexico, encounters one serious obstacle, the lack of surface water; but that obstacle can be removed, without difficulty, in view of the hydrographic conditions of the greater part of Mexican territory.

A. DE ITURBIDE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FRENCH RIVIERA.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE, D. D., LL. D.

THE Riviera or southern sea coast of France, extending along the shore of Provence, from Hyères to Monte Carlo and Mentone, a distance of nearly a hundred miles, is a most charming region of the earth, increasing every year in interest and attractive power. Year by year all who can afford it like to spend the winter where there is no winter; where roses are as abundant at Christmas as they are in other parts at mid-summer, and where the sky for many days in succession is one speckless vault of blue, often showing those soft and tender tints which in colder latitudes confine themselves to mid-summer evenings. It is in some respects like Southern California or Florida, but it differs from them in this, that it has two histories—one very old, the other quite new. Lying in the highway between Italy and France, it attracted from the earliest times the warrior, the trader and the settler; and a few monuments, mostly ruins, remain to this day to recall the times of Greeks and Romans, Ligurians and Saracens. But it is the modern history that interests the world to-day. In the making of that history, it is not the French but the English race that has had the leading share.

A hundred years ago, when Tobias Smollett, the novelist and historian, was British Consul at Nice, he was struck with the mildness of the climate, and from his days Nice has been a resort for delicate persons, especially those of consumptive tendency, and for all who have desired a milder winter than usually greeted them at home. Among those who made for Nice, somewhere about the year 1832, was Henry, Lord Brougham, the great champion of the people in the days of the Reform Bill. The story goes that, that being the time of the great cholera scare, his lordship

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was informed, when approaching Nice, that he must undergo a personal fumigation with sulphur, before he would be allowed to enter the city. This was too much for the high-minded Chancellor of England. "Let's stay where we are," was his remark to a friend who accompanied him, and stay they did. The place bore the name of Cannes, so called from the luxuriant growth of reeds or canes all about. It was charmingly situated in the bend of a beautiful bay, with an amphitheatre of wooded hills around, the little old town, surmounted by its tower, clinging gracefully to Mount Chevalier on the west, and in the horizon the jagged range of the Esterel Mountains forming a splendid screen for the setting sun. Lord Brougham purchased a beautiful piece of land on the western suburb of the town, erecting a villa, which he called the Chateau Eleanore, in memory of his only child. It was not long before he attracted neighbors of mark to the beautiful situation, foreigners with high sounding titles, like the Duke of Rochefoucault and the Duke of Vallombrosa, as well as countrymen of his own, titled and untitled.

But in the more recent extension of the town, preference has been shown for the eastern suburbs. The name "*Californie*" has been given to this region, from its resemblance to the American State, of which the palm, the vine, the orange tree, the pepper tree and the eucalyptus forcibly remind us. Here, or in this neighborhood, are several of the villas that of late years have created most interest. Among these are the Villa Nevada, where Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, Queen Victoria's youngest son, died in 1884; the Villa Edelweis, which the Queen herself occupied in 1887, and the Chateau Thorene, the property of Lord Rendel, whose guest Mr. Gladstone was for a considerable part of the winter before his death. The Nevada and the Edelweis are not of the highest class; the Thorene has much higher claims. It is one of the finest villas in the place, and the grounds surrounding it are large and magnificent. It is situated, like many more of the best villas, a considerable way up among the hills, commanding one of the finest views possible, both of sea and land. Mr. Gladstone could hardly have had a finer situation, or one where he could more fully enjoy the bracing influence of the place.

A few miles to the east of Nice, is a small territory which of late years has attained an undesirable fame, the little principality of Monaco, in which the famous gambling resort of Monte Carlo

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is situated. Monaco, though probably the smallest independent state in Europe, has a very old history, having for many centuries been ruled by the family of Grimaldi; but its present pre-eminence is quite of recent date. It is not a pleasant reflection that when the pernicious habit of public gambling had been brought to an end at Baden-Baden and other places where it had been long carried on, but had become a public nuisance, it found a refuge in the little territory of the Prince of Monaco.

A more beautiful spot than Monte Carlo could hardly be conceived. From its spacious Casino on its commanding height, surrounded by gardens and villas embosomed in palms and glowing in the sunshine, you look out on the bay in its exquisite blue, surmounted by the blue sky above, peacefully laving the jagged rocks that run into its bosom, and with its brilliant color forming a fine contrast to the dark promontories that fling themselves out in the distance. It is the very ideal of peace and purity, and it is hard to believe that it is the resort of idlers and gamblers, prostitutes and desperadoes, not a few of whom end their unblest career by suicide. Yet the place has a great air of respectability; magnificent hotels, unrivalled concerts, fashionable balls, Parisian shops, exquisite gardens attract many of whom it were not fair to say that they are vicious. All the same, it is the curse of the Riviera; nor does there seem any near prospect of its coming to an end; agreements extending to long periods between the Prince and his lessees produce such revenues to the one and such profits to the other, that, until greed ceases to rule human nature, or until some political convulsion violently changes the order of things, this moral nuisance seems likely to flourish.

Another few miles to the east is Mentone. In common parlance, it bears the Italian name we have given it, but in all official documents it is spelled in the French form, Menton. It is only within the last forty years that Mentone, Nice and the main part of the coast of Provence have belonged to France. Mentone has decidedly an Italian cast; the tradesmen's names on the sign posts are Italian, and, indeed, the Italian boundary is but a mile from the town, with its custom house officers to stop your carriage, if you are taking a drive, and to ascertain that you are carrying no cargo of tobacco.

The discovery of Mentone as a health resort is ascribed to an English physician, a Dr. Bennett, to whose memory a statue

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has been erected in the town. It is probably the warmest and most sheltered of all the towns in the Riviera. The magnificent hills approach much nearer than in the case of Nice or of Cannes; in summer weather the atmosphere must be close, and but for the sea breeze it would be stifling. Perhaps more has been done for Mentone by Mr. Spurgeon than by Dr. Bennett. For many years he went to it for a winter holiday, and body and mind alike found refreshment and renovation in its sunshine and its scenery. It is wonderful how many persons, even in distant parts of the globe, are attracted to a place which is known to be dear to some man of mark. Many a tourist from the United States bent his steps to Mentone because Mr. Spurgeon was there. Alas! even its magic atmosphere could not avail to arrest the hand of disease when it had taken the firm grip it had got of Mr. Spurgeon. He died in the Beau Rivage Hotel, opposite the Eastern Bay, his windows looking out on the blue Mediterranean, and on the bright canopy above, so true an emblem of the peace and the beauty of Heaven.

Across the Italian boundary, we have more health resorts of the same character, particularly Bordighera and San Remo. Bordighera has become famous as the winter residence of George Macdonald. Many have been attracted to it by the famous writer, who has not only created such an interest in his books, but an equal interest in the man that wrote them. Those of us who knew him in the days when his locks were black, his eye bright and his face full of life and joy, must be painfully struck by the marks of decay that are now but too apparent. But Macdonald was always a delicate man, and we may be very sure that but for Bordighera, winter would long ere now have proved too much for him. It is something surely that one who had to give up the ministry in early life through severe attacks of hemorrhage has reached his seventy-fifth year, and is still able to work. We do not agree with all his theological opinions, but we honor the writer who has striven so hard on a Christian basis to spread among his fellows the spirit of love and joy.

But we did not mean to cross the Italian boundary, for our subject is the French Riviera. We have noticed some of the principal resorts in Provence; but we have no idea that they have reached their limit. Our expectation rather is that from time to time new places will be added, until the whole border of Provence is studded

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with health resorts. Very recently Hyères has been attached. And more are in the course of formation. When we visited San Raphael, between Cannes and Hyères, we found the process in operation with which Americans are familiar, when a new town is in the course of being laid out—a railway station, of course, streets and roads graded and named, but as yet with hardly a house; villas here and there, designed to show what nicely situated residences might be had; the site marked for an "Anglican church;" in short, the very features that thirty years before one could have seen when Cannes was in its infancy. In the same neighborhood, but inland, is Valescure, where a Grand Hotel rears its massive form as a signal to ordinary homes to gather round it. We learned that Lord Rendel and other rich men have acquired land in that neighborhood for the purpose of forming an inland health settlement. Much has been done by syndicates in such undertakings, often, doubtless, with benefit to themselves as well as to the public, but sometimes with heavy loss. These are not the times when hopeful enterprises can find no capitalists to back them; the means are seldom wanting even when the chance of success is but small. *"Situations de l'avenir"* are made much of.

And now the question naturally arises: What are the conditions of this strip of Provençal coast that make it so attractive to seekers after health? What enables it to turn "the winter of our discontent" in other parts into "glorious summer?" In the first place, the chain of the "Alpes Maritimes," which run parallel to the coast, protects it from the fierce winds of the north, and, moreover, forms a kind of mirror for catching the sun's rays, which are also reflected from the surface of the sea, and thrown, as it were, on the neighboring shores. As long as the sun shines all is bright and warm, but immediately after sunset the air rapidly cools, and within half an hour the genial warmth of the sunshine is converted into sharp cold. Warnings have to be constantly given to invalids to be on their guard against this hour. If they have been at all heated by the sunshine, the evening cold is apt to produce a chill, from which disastrous results may flow.

North of the Maritime Alps, Provence is cold and dry; it is only the southern border that has the semi-tropical climate. The wind known as the mistral (a contraction of magistral, the "domineering" wind) is called "the scourge of Provence"; sometimes even the Riviera gets a taste of its quality. But it makes the at-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mosphere for the most part very dry and clear; hence the beautiful sky. A well known scientific writer on the Riviera, M. Charles Lenthéric has an interesting theory, that opposite coasts of the same sea usually show a remarkable resemblance to each other, both in flora and in climate. He finds a correspondence in these respects between the south of France and the north of Africa. But the resemblance does not extend beyond the Riviera.

It is not to be supposed, however, that in this winter climate we have nothing but blue skies and bright sunshine. If it were so, the country would be a desert. And, of course, winters vary in the degree of occasional frost, and in the amount of the rainfall. The winter of last year was remarkably open; the frost but slight; snow unknown except on the tops of the mountains; rainy days but a small percentage of those of bright sunshine, and the mistral fairly well behaved. In fact, it was difficult during the winter months to realize that it was not July. The illusion is the greater that the hills for the most part are covered with green. The native trees, conspicuous among which are the olive, the umbrella pine, and the cork tree, retain their foliage throughout. And those which have been imported, the eucalyptus, the palm, the pepper tree, the bamboo, and others show a still richer green. January has hardly arrived when the buds of the mimosa begin to swell, and by the end of the month every grove in the neighborhood of Cannes is a blaze of yellow gold. And in the grounds of villas and chateaux the flowering shrubs are hardly less beautiful. Camelias may be seen, a mass of flowers. The golden apples of the orange show beautifully in the setting of its bright green leaves. And as for flowers, it is impossible to convey an idea of their abundance and luxuriance. Visit the flower market of Cannes or of Nice, and you are dazzled by the profusion of daffodils and jonquils, of roses and carnations, of mignonette and violets, primulas and pansies, cineraria and heliotrope, anemonies, white, crimson and purple—all grown in the open air. In some situations, cactus and acacia are in full blaze, and in choice gardens, like that of Mr. Hanbury, near Mentone, the living aloe may be seen, rearing its mighty stem in preparation for its display, and the dead aloe, exhausted by the flowers of last season, which are still seen clinging in a withered state to its dead stem. Of late years there has sprung up a new industry, connected with the trade in flowers. The post office gives facilities

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for their transmission, and every day a profusion of little boxes is sent by visitors to their friends at home, and larger cargoes are sent to flower dealers in Paris, London, Berlin and other distant places.

We have said that it is the modern history of the Riviera that gives it its great interest to-day; but it is likewise interesting to think that, hundreds of years before Christ, human eyes looked on the blue sky and the blue sea as they do now; saw the sun in all its magnificent drapery, set behind the Esterel Mountains; saw the crimson zone encircle the horizon for three-fourths of its extent, as we see it sometimes now; and that there men breathed in winter a more genial air than in most parts even of Italy or Greece. The very name of Nice points to the early occupation of the Greeks, for what is it but the modern form of Niké, "victory"—a commemoration of a victory gained over the early Ligurian inhabitants. So Antibes, which stands on a promontory over against Nice, is a popular contraction of Antipolis, "the opposite city." Monaco, supposed to have been dedicated to Hercules, was his Monos Oikos, "only house," no unsuitable term for a temple on a narrow rocky promontory, two hundred feet above the level of the sea. The Romans likewise left diverse names; for the very word Provence is the Latin *provincia*. Fréjus is the modern equivalent of Forum Julii, after Julius Cæsar. At Fréjus there is an amphitheatre, of which the walls are in good preservation, that afforded accommodation, it is believed, for nine thousand spectators; some of the corridors and doors still remain, by which the wild beasts were let in on the Christian martyrs and other offenders, amid the jubilations of the assembled thousands. There are also the remains of a handsome aqueduct, by which water was brought from the hills. Fréjus is now a poor, dilapidated village; in those days it had a good harbor (rendered useless by the receding of the seacoast), and it must have had a thriving trade and a large population. There are the remains of another amphitheatre at Cimiez, near Nice, easily known to be Roman by the small square stones which the Romans always used, but it is of smaller dimensions than the one at Fréjus.

Coming to early Christian times, the most interesting of all places on the Riviera are the two islands called "the Lérins." Their present names are St. Marguerite and St. Honorat, but of old they were called Lero and Lerina, or the big and the little Lero. They

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are mere morsels of islands, the larger containing some 400 acres, the smaller about 100. To a Scotsman they recall two little islands in the Frith of Clyde—the two Cumbraes; and a well known prayer ascribed to a Highland minister, who used to ask God to bless "the Muckle Cumbrae and the Little Cumbrae, and the adjawcent islands of Great Britain and Ireland." The island St. Marguerite is famed for a legend of a prisoner called "the man in the iron mask," in the time of Louis XIV., an unknown person of note, who wore, not an *iron* mask, as the legend has it, but a *velvet* mask—was never seen by any one but his jailor, and after being confined for ten years in the castle of the island, was transferred to the Bastile, where he died. The smaller island has sometimes been called the Iona of France, and the work done from it has been compared to that of Columba and his brethren from the island of Iona. This may be something of an exaggeration, for the Monastery of Lerins did not engage in the far-spreading missionary labors that made Iona famous. But in its way, and chiefly as an educational institute, it was not only one of the most famous of French monasteries, but one of the most efficient in advancing the cause of Christianity in pagan times.

But the middle ages have likewise furnished us with interesting memorials in the Riviera of their turbulent history. A few miles inland, we meet with little towns built on the tops of hills that to our notions are the very last places where it is desirable to dwell. Such is the little town of Mougins, near Cannes, but more striking examples are to be seen near Mentone and beyond the Italian border. Nothing but necessity could have driven people to these all but inaccessible heights. But between the invasions of pirates by sea and Saracens by land, they had very hard times, for these enemies were as remorseless as death, and spared neither man, woman, nor child. The heights where their forefathers were compelled by necessity to make their homes, habit and possession have continued as the abodes of the present inhabitants. Such towns as Gorbis, Castellar, Gourdon, Dolceacqua and Isolabona seem altogether out of place in the end of the nineteenth century. Perched on heights many hundred feet above the level of the sea, the mere carriage of the necessaries of life to them involves an expenditure of human toil that would seem to leave little if any strength available for other purposes. Within recent years excellent roads have been made to them, or near to them, roads imply-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing remarkable ingenuity of engineering, and reducing the gradients to the lowest possible figure; but even yet, in the case of some of the places, you may see women toiling up footpaths with their washing on their heads, or men with loads of wood, and even children getting their first lessons in the art of carrying heavy burdens up hill. It seems so strange that when in our cities we have contrived by means of lifts or elevators to save strong men and women the trouble of carrying their own bodies a few feet upwards, we should find the natives of these distant places carrying heavy burdens up heights the very thought of which would appal the modern Englishman or American.

And what sort of places are they when you reach them? Not at all inviting or interesting. For the most part dilapidated, and always untidy, as if the people were too poor to be able, or too tasteless to care, to make them look nice. Generally the people are owners of vineyards or gardens below, yielding them a poor living. And all their care seems to be needed to keep these in order. For on the sides of mountains you can only have vineyards by elaborate terracing, and the many tiers of walls you see, representing the labor of centuries, demand unceasing care in order to support a level patch no larger than an ordinary room. Much of the living of the people used to be derived from the olive, but the oil of the olive has found a serious rival in the mineral oils now so abundant, and besides, the olive itself is not always to be depended on, the olive crop having recently proved a failure.

But some of the valleys through which you approach these high places are exquisite, and the views from the heights transcendant. The plantations of olive are often very fine. Most persons are disappointed with the olive on first acquaintance, and wonder what there is in its dull color and gnarled trunk to make men speak of "the beauty of the olive." But one's opinion changes when one sees it in a congenial valley, covering great ranges, its mild color contrasting pleasantly with the bright blue of the sky, and its richly clad branches and drooping leaves reminding us somewhat of the hanging glory of the birch—a tree, by the way, which we never see in those parts. Vineyards are not pretty, especially in winter; but where the mountains tower to a great height the vineyards become insignificant, and the eye is filled with the vast masses that shoot their jagged tops into the sky. And when these are seen in the light of the setting sun, which seems as if it came

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through a diamond lens, the effect is overpowering. You get a wonderful revelation of the transfiguring power of light.

Vineyards, however, do not take up all the arable soil. Of course, there are patches of grass, wheat and vegetables, and there are orange groves and flower gardens. Near Grasse, a little town to the north of Cannes, you find rose gardens in great abundance. Grasse is renowned as the great centre of the perfumery business. It contains about seventy perfume distilleries. It is said to possess a monopoly in France, perhaps in the world, for the production of perfumes and other products of fruit and flowers. Germany, Russia, and, above all, America, send immense orders. The perfume industry is an interesting one and gives much employment to young and old; but there are persons whose nerves cannot stand the strong scent, whether of the orange or of the rose. It is an odd sight, when the orange blossoms are gathered, to see men and women perched, like so many monkeys, on the branches of the trees.

Hitherto, the benefits of the Riviera as a health resort, or as a means of escaping the sharpness of winter, have been confined to the upper classes and a few of the middle. It has been a great favorite with the royal family of Great Britain. Queen Victoria has spent winter months at Cannes, Grasse, Mentone and Nice. For those of moderate means comfortable quarters may be found in pensions and hotels that board strangers at the rate of about two dollars a day. Even for a poorer class there is a limited provision. The *Asyle Evangelique* at Cannes, the Villa Helvetia at Mentone for governesses and other young ladies in poor health, and the English Hospital at Nice provide the means of enjoying the climate of the Riviera for a few of the numberless cases where, if it were within their reach, benefit might probably be derived from it. Whether these benefits shall ever be enjoyed on a larger scale seems doubtful, unless we should come to know a far wider development of the spirit of unselfish beneficence than our world has hitherto seen.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NEW LAW OF HEALTH.

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

To say that the Sphere of Wisdom is not a globe sounds like a contradiction in terms, but the accuracy of the paradox is demonstrable. If in setting out toward a fixed goal of truth, one's face be turned in the wrong direction, no persistency in endeavor and no length of travel will ever conduct the wayfarer to the haven where he would be.

This fact in moral geography is, however, one that has been late of discovery and is still far from unanimous acceptance. Perhaps certain inherent weaknesses of human nature will forever preclude its universal reception. Chronic childishness is so common a failing that it would be useless to hope for the adoption of any new truths, were it not that the adult intelligence of the few eventually and inevitably imposes its conclusions upon the multitude. The few are continually dragging the many into the path of fact and common sense, and the immature-minded many are as persistently lusting after a miracle and kicking against the pricks of plain truth. They forever recoil from the steady, dull plodding that lies between them and their ends if they seek them by that path, and turn again longingly to supernaturalism for a charm to conjure away the barriers fencing them out of the Eden of their desires—for a spell to break the chains binding them bondslaves of space and time, of heat and cold, of poverty, pain and disease.

They fashion for themselves dreams of flying carpets, of magic lamps and rings; of transmutable metals, of fountains of youth and elixirs of life, which are to achieve their purposes without effort or drudgery. Bullied and shamed out of these puerile inventions, they substitute legends of fasts and macerations whose

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

courage and asceticism are to make the gods tremble with respectful admiration, whose triumphs over material passions are to give occult freedom from material limitations. Buddhs and Mahatmas are imagined, who stand moveless and speechless till the birds nest and rear broods in their hair, and who thereby grow so mighty that the mountains rock beneath the weight of their thoughts, not to mention their acquirement of powers which render the services of the post office unnecessary and make railways ridiculously superfluous.

Splendid energies, passionate faith and ardour, master intellects have been wasted in this long fruitless endeavour to find some magic by which nature is to be conquered and man made master of circumstance, without drudgery—all thrown into that bottomless pit of error which can never be filled.

Even now that it has been demonstrated beyond cavil that nature is to be conquered by her own natural means only, and only in accordance with her own natural laws, there are still a lamentable number of descendants of Lot's wife, continually casting longing glances back to the Sodom of their intellectual sins. It is nothing to them that, having once faced about in the right direction, the same amount of effort properly directed has achieved exactly the marvels after which the supernaturalists vainly sought—that, eating our due amount of food and attaching no mystical significance to anything, we have torn our way through mountains, flashed our thoughts under the oceans, sailed straight into the teeth of the winds, annihilated distance with steam, learned to look at our own bones through our solid flesh, to bottle up dead voices as one might preserve cherries, and reproduce for our own amusement upon a screen the life of yesterday exactly as it passed before our eyes, even to its minutest movement or play of expression. These are the marvels which have rewarded those content to tread by slow steps the plain, straight road of dull facts, and perhaps the most dazzling and surprising discoveries that lie along this Path of the Tortoise have been those affecting human life and health—discoveries to which the harebrained are still seeking the ever elusive short cut.

There was once a little girl who, after the manner of her sex, feared greatly all and sundry of certain fierce beasts, such as mice, bats, bumblebees, spiders, and, more vividly and especially, dogs.

On a day, having been bidden to deliver a message to an op-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posite neighbor, she set out radiating the pleasing results of soap, brushes and a fresh pinafore, but was brought to a sudden pause by a specimen of the worst of enemies—which seemed to the perspective of an eye only three feet from the ground to be easily the rival of an elephant in size—lying prone across the path, lolling an intimidating tongue and rolling an eye which, though outwardly calm, might be guessed to conceal a horrid intent. Immediately there was a swish of starched skirts, a twinkle of bare ankles, and an appeal was preferred to that infallible power and knowledge which Providence has so beneficently placed in maternal hands. This particular parent, being a person of nimble imagination, realized that a mastiff as large in proportion to her own inches as was this one to the normal height of five years, might daunt even her adult courage, and she forebore to remonstrate or reason.

"There," she said placidly, "is a lump of sugar. Put it on your tongue and hold it there. Of course, the dog will not touch you while you have a lump of sugar on your tongue"—and, so fortified, Five Years set forth with a conviction of immunity which carried her successfully past the source of terror.

The incident is in itself, perhaps, not of historic importance, but it is a particularly vivid example of the complete divorce existing in the undeveloped mind between the laws of cause and effect; and in no department of human thought has that divorce continued so long and so entire as in all that relates to human health.

Every one of us can revive from childhood a memory of the soothing balm which overspread the injured temple, when a sympathetic nurse bestowed the richly deserved spanking upon the offending chair corner that had caused the pain, or applied the clearly indicated plaster of a kiss; and medicine long followed these intelligent suggestions from the nursery and administered, to the bitten, hairs from the biting dog. Medicine as a science has, of course, shared in the general growth of knowledge, but the bulk of mankind still continues to put sugar on its tongue as a protection from wild beasts; to castigate the chair corners, and apply remedies as unknown to the pharmacopœia as the feminine kiss. Perhaps the stolen potato carried in the pocket, or the bit of red flannel bound about the left wrist, is a less trusted remedy for rheumatism than it was fifty years ago, and the dried heart

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a mouse in a bag about the neck has lost some of its potency against epileptic seizures; but the rise and popularity of innumerable systems and cures that have no reasonable relation to the ills they affect to assuage prove that the laws of health are still as heterogeneous from the intelligence of the mass as the laws of the differential calculus. It would be diverting, were it not so pathetic, to see the constant endeavor on the part of the multitude to lift itself up by its own hygienic bootstraps in the form of barefoot cures, all-wool cures, mind cures, cures by clairvoyance, by Christian Science, by electricity, and by bone manipulation. Like children we still move about in worlds unrealized, seeing no reason why some power that wishes us individually well should not break through the immutable sequence of cause and effect on our behalf, and release us from the unpleasant results of our own foolishness. Our childish "let's pretend" sweeps away for the moment the tiresome persistency of facts, and opens the gate of a world where one may eat one's cake and have it, too, and after dancing escape the bill for the fiddling.

It is, of course, only by a figure of speech that the laws of health can be called new, all natural laws being of their very nature eternal. What is new is the realization that there are *laws* governing health—that suffering is not a haphazard chance, or the visitation of some capricious punishment by a higher power, but the orderly sequence and expected result of some infringement of the physical laws of being. We have long been aware that if we ate or drank certain poisonous substances the result would be pain or death, and we do not even hope to evade by prayer or faith the swift and certain results of a dose of prussic acid. We have been quite convinced by ocular demonstration that, if we walked over the edge of a cliff, faith would not interfere with the laws of gravitation, and that, when we reached the earth below, the results were certain to be uncomfortable, if not mortal. The more civilized communities have become entirely convinced that public filth and the use of impure water are absolutely certain to breed disease, and take their measures accordingly, having abandoned confidence in processions and vows to erect churches; but what still waits for general acceptance is the truth that all disease and suffering arise from perfectly preventable causes. We continue to use poisons which are quite as certain, if less rapid, than those bearing the warning skull and crossbones on their

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labels, and we continue to walk over hygienic precipices, full of hope that the results will not be disagreeable. To take the commonest example of this inconsequent behavior: Every one is aware that oxygen is necessary for life, is also aware that an adult exhausts the oxygen from three cubic feet of air with every breath he draws, and that two minutes breathing of impure air will appreciably affect for evil every one of his organs and every corpuscle of his blood; and yet nine persons out of ten sleep for eight hours out of the twenty-four in an unchanged atmosphere, and wake to wonder at the unpleasant results, perhaps to call in some conjuror to charm them away.

There is, it is true, as great an inequality in the inheritance of health as in the heirship of wealth or brains. Some are born with a fortune of vigor and soundness so large that not a lifetime of eager squandering will leave them poor, and others enter the world paupers of need so dire that no charity from medicine can ever raise them to comfort; but most of us have just that mediocre legacy of vitality which renders us undistinguishable units in the mass. It lies in the hands of each to improve or waste that property as he chooses, for there are self-made men physically as well as financially; those who, because of ancestral wastefulness, have only a sixpence of health, and turn it into a fortune; and there are spendthrifts of health who come to as sorrowful case as spendthrifts of gold. The body is a realm where a wise and frugal ruler brings happiness as surely as a foolish one insures distress, and wisdom here, as elsewhere, lies in learning and obeying natural laws. It is just those natural laws—simple, severe, immutable—which must be obeyed all day and every day, against which we chafe, for which some magic pill or potion is offered as a substitute. Temperance, cleanliness, activity are the three virtues of the body, as faith, hope and charity are of the soul. As tithes of mint, anise and cummin are easier to render than to practice the law, justice and judgment, so the easy sacrifice of burnt offerings of drugs is offered to the goddess Hygeia in lieu of constant obedience to her regimen. Forty days of Lenten abstention are considered adequate atonement for a year of the sins of the flesh, and a brief retreat to a "cure" of mineral waters (where the high priests of health are bribed by passing confession and submission) is considered a penance which should obliterate all past offenses. As it is easier to repeat formu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

las of prayer than to persistently keep oneself unspotted from the world, so it is easier for fat old sinners to paddle about barefooted in the dew than to permanently abandon their little darling sins of greediness, indolence or self-neglect. To a constant cry of "Lo, here! and Lo, there!" the world runs to sit under the blue glass, or to swathe itself in wool in the ever renewed hope that some substitute may be found for unfailing observance of the three rules.

An obscure but witty romance, whose vivacity attracted less attention than it deserved, told of an undiscovered country in the heart of the Andes where crime was looked upon as the unfortunate result of congenital temperament—a disease demanding sympathy and treatment; but ill health aroused only reprobation as a wilful offence against wise and well understood laws. A bronchial case resulted in arrest and imprisonment, and friends of the family considered it untactful to cough in the presence of the criminal's relations, but a severe attack of embezzlement aroused widespread sympathy, and cards were left upon the invalid with kind inquiries as to whether he was receiving the best moral attention. A condition of affairs which would be less whimsical than might at first sight appear!

Paracelsus—accused of wizardry because of the simple natural means by which he effected his cures—believed that, if he were allowed absolutely to direct from its birth the diet of a fairly healthy infant, he could build up a constitution which might be made to last out a century in undiminished vigor, and there are those prepared to accept literally the stories of the age of the antediluvian patriarchs because of their theory that, bread not being at that time in use, digestions never called upon to deal with starch could easily sustain life to Methuselah's term.

Because of the long neglect and ignorance of the true laws of health, the subtle, but supremely important, chemistry of nutrition has been neglected in favor of matters of less moment. The same skill which developed the science of bacteriology and pursued the most elusive microbe to his most secret fastness, might perhaps have been more practically applied. After being found and named, the average microbe remains no less virulent and dangerous, and how much more valuable would have been a knowledge —equally obtainable—of exactly the amount and nature of the food required for the best results of health and growth.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is in the West Indies a farmer ant who, upon a carefully prepared soil of flowers and leaves, grows a tiny fungus on which he feeds. The eggs, laid by a queen, seem when hatched to produce a uniform type of larvæ; but these, through different feeding, develop, when perfected, either warriors, farmers or queens, as may be needed. If, through accident or the result of battle, the supply of warriors is dangerously lowered, these able pismires transfer some of the larvæ being fed with such food as produces farmers to the nursery for young soldiers, and change of diet changes their natures so radically that the creature which should have developed the peaceful industry suited to agricultural pursuits becomes instead a warlike insect who defends the nest against the assaults of those fierce nomads, the black ants, whose inroads are so dreaded by these laborious communities. Ah! what a triumph of science, could we too know upon what meat should these our Cæsars feed that they might grow so great. What a much more important achievement that would be than the discovery and naming of all the myriads of microbes, who would be impotent to harm the perfectly nourished body.

Medicine, despite all its modern discovery and progress, has done less to spread the reign of common sense and a general comprehension of the laws of health than might have been hoped for. More advance had been possible in this direction had we adopted the logical method of the Chinese, who pay medical bills as long as under the physician's advice they continue in health, and cease payments the moment of attack from disease; arguing lucidly that immunity from pain is a good worth any price, and that suffering implies some incompetence on the part of their advisers. Our reversal of this intelligent system has naturally turned the thoughts of the faculty more toward therapeutics than to the study of preventive medicine. Doctors, after all, are but men with like passions with ourselves, and examples such as that of Paracelsus discourage those who would be wiser than their age. Men do not pay doctors to remind them of their hygienic sins, or insist upon the practice of tiresome rules. They call upon them to give them absolution for their offences, and sell them indulgences in the form of pills which will make renewed infringement of the code possible.

What would become of the practice of a physician who should say to a patient: "You need no drugs. Your ruined nerves are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the result of too rich and too varied a diet, and physical indolence. Take no medicine; walk five miles every morning at six o'clock and live entirely upon gruel and water for a month ?" It would be instantly borne in upon the seeker for health that this was an ignorant quack who had failed to understand his case. Naaman, the Syrian, felt the same blank sense of disappointment when he was bid to dip himself three times in the river Jordan, and but for his servant he would have scorned to try so simple a cure. Simple cures are but little more valued in our day than in the era of the stern Jewish prophet, and, since doctors must live by satisfying their patients, they will continue to gratify the desire for something more startling in their prescriptions than plain sense, and refrain from insistence upon unpalatable truths.

The sect who call themselves, in exquisite confusion of ideas, Christian Scientists, and who practice the latest abracadabra to conjure away the effects of fixed causes—asserting that pain is the result of sin and can be abolished by faith—have hold of one of those half truths so confusing to the untrained intelligence. But they childishly overlook the fact that pain, while it is the undoubted result of offences against physical morals, is in itself not an evil, being simply the message sent to the brain over the telephone wires of the nerves to inform it that some member of the body's commonwealth is in danger and requires assistance. That the mind should refuse to act upon the news otherwise than by declining to believe it, appears to be the gist of their system, stated in plain terms.

Not by stopping the ears, not by the practice of any magic, is health to be obtained. By no flying carpets may it be reached. Fasts and prayers will not call it down from heaven. Fixed, immortal, the laws remain, always unchanged, always inexorable. The wages of disobedience are disease. To know the law, to practice it daily—that is the lost path to the Fountain of Youth; that is the long-hid secret of the Elixir of Life.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA—II.

BY THE REV. J. P. JONES, D.D., MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD, AT MADURA, SOUTH INDIA.

II.

We shall now consider a few of the most frequent charges brought against Great Britain in this land. None is presented with more readiness and warmth, or appears more warranted by facts, than the claim that the land is being denuded of its wealth, and its treasures carried annually in immense sums over the seas. It is concretely expressed by Mr. Dutt, in his recent work, "England and India," in the following words: "The annual exports from India exceed the annual imports of merchandise and treasure by over £20,000,000. For this excess of exports India receives no commercial equivalent; it is a steady drain on the resources of India." This, like many other remarks, has an element of truth commingled with serious error. He himself acknowledges that a third of this outflow is in payment of interest on money invested here by Englishmen, chiefly in railroads. This interest is at a low rate, often guaranteed by government. It is usually the only way in which the State can undertake large enterprises, not only necessary for the country, but which also do wonders for its development. Should that immense wealth of Englishmen which has flowed into India, and the work which it has wrought in the upbuilding of the land, be swept away to-morrow, India would drop instantly out of the realm of civilization and re-enter upon its semi-barbarism of the past. To claim that these investments by Westerners in the land are not a rich boon, and to speak of the interest received upon the same as an unjust drain upon the country, seems irrational. If the wealthy men of this land were only prepared to take up such public work and invest their money at low or moderate interest in enterprises for the public weal, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

charge might seem less unreasonable than it is. But native wealth cannot be made to flow into such channels. In this district, where the writer has long lived, there is much need of a railroad as a famine preventive through a much neglected portion of the field. For years the road has been surveyed at government expense, and it has been shown that the investment would be fairly remunerative; and the native community has been strongly appealed to, more than once, to invest in so necessary and important a public work. Within the neglected area through which the road is to run, there live a class of native money lenders who have means enough to build the road ten times over. And there are two petty Rajahs also living in the district. The two latter, while squandering their own patrimony, are content to petition the government to have the road built. These money lenders, on the other hand, decline to spend a rupee on such public works, as they can more than quadruple the interest by money lending to their miserable countrymen. After thus patiently waiting for years, the people are greatly rejoiced now to learn that English capitalists have come into the breach and will build the road at an early date. It will be an untold blessing to the million residents of that region, and to none more than the grasping, selfish money lenders and the spendthrift Rajahs. And yet the meagre income of this investment will be regarded by some as a drain on the country!

Another third of the sum above mentioned is consumed in the support of the army. This is truly a heavy burden, and there is reason to believe that it is much too serious a charge upon so peaceable and indigent a people. Imperial interests have caused this item to grow ominously of late years; and this has led the best friends of India to protest against making this poor land bear the largely growing expense incident to the protection of the Empire from outside dangers and enemies. There is no doubt that Russia's threatening approach to the north of India is a mighty argument in the mind and mouth of the martial defenders of the Empire in favor of the subjugation of the turbulent tribes on the northern frontiers and of the erection of mighty defences. But if this is necessary it is rather for the integrity of the British Empire than for the safety and defence of India; and the expense should in good part be borne by Great Britain herself. Sir Henry Brackenbury, a late military adviser to the Viceroy of India, re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cently remarked, with justice, before a Royal Commission appointed to apportion expenditure as between England and India: "The foreign policy of India is directed entirely from England by Her Majesty's government, and it is the part of British foreign policy generally to secure Great Britain's rule over her Empire. If we desired to maintain British rule in India only for India's sake, then I think it would be fair to make India pay to the uttermost farthing everything that it could be shown was due to Britain's rule over India. India affords employment to thousands of Britons, India employs millions of English capital, and Indian commerce has been of immense value to Great Britain. Therefore, it seems to me that India, being held by Great Britain not only for India's sake, but for Great Britain's sake, the latter should pay a share of the expenditure for this purpose." In any case, there is little doubt that the whole army of India, at its present size and weight, should not hang as a millstone around India's neck. And the sound sense of justice which characterizes England gives ground of confidence that she will assume this just burden as soon as the present commission will report and reveal the situation. If this is not done, the other alternative of a speedy reduction of the army, which now numbers 75,000 Britons and 150,000 Indians, will become necessary. The army in India is, of all departments, the most vulnerable to attack, both on the score of expense and character. The British army is certainly the greatest trial to the Indian, and brutally rides roughshod over all his sensibilities. If "Tommy Atkins" could only be left at home, with safety to British interest in this land, it would help largely to improve the situation between the two races. It would also save England from the terrible disgrace of immorality which the army is instrumental in carrying as a plague wherever it goes. Awful, indeed, is the prevalence of the social vice in the native community itself. But the English army spreads the demoralization in a most disgraceful way wherever it is found. And the worst aspect of the whole question is the apparent inability of those at the head of the army and of government to strike at the root of the evil. They assume that the evil is irremediable, that the soldier is born to this special sin and must be indulged in it and protected in the indulgence. The consequence is that nearly half the army to-day is *hors de combat*, and no punishment whatever is inflicted upon the misguided son of passion for disquali-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fying himself for service. How much better and more effective it would be, from the standpoint of morality and of military discipline, to say plainly to this son of Mars that he is engaged and supported to defend the country; that to disqualify himself for that service by sinful indulgence is not only unmanly and unjust to his employer, it is also a breach of military discipline, for which he will be severely punished every time he transgresses. Such a summary and wholesome course would save England from much of its present disgrace in the eyes of, and sins against, a heathen people, and would be more effective than a whole code of "Contagious Diseases Acts."

The opium and the abkary business is one which has drawn forth large criticism. From the moral standpoint the critics have a very strong position. The evil which the opium traffic of India has inflicted upon China—against her will, too—has been enormous. The large army of opium eaters which it has created, only to destroy them with a terrible death, has long been an argument to which no nation of England's position and pretensions can render satisfactory reply. In like manner, the State monopoly of the drink traffic is neither honorable nor wise. It not only gives unwonted and unwarrantable dignity to a disreputable business; it also inevitably involves the State in the business of making a large army of drunkards in the land. It is not enough for her to reply that if the trade were in private hands the people would drink just the same. Even if that were true, it seems hardly proper for so august a body to become the sole manufacturer and vendor of the demoralizing stuff. But it is not true that the people would drink all the same if the government restrained the business instead of promoting it. To take up a traffic like this for the revenue there is in it, is to trifle with the higher interests of the subjects and to become instrumental in the corruption and misery of the people whom it is bound to protect. It is questionable whether any other civilized government has so involved itself in such unworthy means of creating a revenue. Doubtless, opium and drink represent, morally, the weakest part of this government. Of course, the all important defence lies in the revenue thus acquired. These two items of revenue, as is too well known, flow more easily than any others into the depleted treasury of State. To give these up, in behalf of what is termed a sentiment, is to necessitate the imposition of other heavy taxes. This is an aspect of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the question which has too easily silenced and secured the acquiescence of the Indian community. But its evil is great and is spreading. The drink curse is rapidly becoming one of the crying problems of India. It was slanderously remarked, some years ago, that if England then left this country the only monuments of its life left behind would be broken whiskey bottles. There is indeed ground to-day for the charge that, if England were to abandon the land, it would leave as the saddest monument of its past an immensely increasing army of whiskey drinkers. This vice is growing at a most alarming pace among the Indians who are in authority—especially the Brâhmans—men who until recently would no more defile themselves with liquor than they would eat beef or cross the ocean. Ten thousand times better were it for the State to renounce all such traffic and the price of blood which accompanies it. It cannot safely, for the sake of revenue, sacrifice the highest interest and permanent good of the people.

The recent utterance of the Archbishop of Canterbury on this subject should be heeded by the State. "The true principle of morals," he says, "is to have nothing whatever to do with that which is shown to be necessarily productive of evil. The English nation caused the opium evil in China, and we are responsible for that evil. I also protest against the principle of raising revenue by temptations to evil. It might be right for a government to pause before interfering with private trade; but in this case we ourselves are carrying on the evil trade. Such a thing on the part of a great government is, I think, without a parallel in the whole extent of the world."

The subject of taxation is one which the critics of the State are prone to dwell upon. It is, however, difficult to understand why this matter should be pressed, unless it be on the ground, apparently maintained, that the poverty of the people should exempt them from any of the burdens of taxation—a theory beautifully generous to the people, but fatal to the maintenance of any government. The salt tax does certainly seem cruel in its severe pressure upon the very poor, and yet it is the only way whereby this very large part of the community can be reached at all and made to contribute its mite to the State which protects it.

Comparing present taxes with those of the past, we should certainly expect heavier imposts now, because the government furnishes to-day as an equivalent of protection and blessing infinitely

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more than former dynasties did. And yet, Sir W. Hunter has ably and clearly shown, from a comparison of taxes levied by the present and by the Mughal governments, that the modern Hindu is vastly better off than his ancestor of two and three centuries ago. To-day 5½ per cent. is collected in land tax; under the Mughal rule they had to pay from 33 to 50 per cent. Beside this, the Mohammedan imposed various other taxes, many of them on non-Mohammedans as a religious penalty. Nor were the Hindu governments a whit better, and even to-day the Native States are much harder upon the people than is the British Raj. The Famine Commission (the highest authority on the subject), in its exhaustive report of 1880, writes: "In the majority of native governments the revenue officer takes all he can get, and would take treble the revenue we should assess if he were strong enough to exact it. In ill managed States the cultivators are relentlessly squeezed, the difference between the native system and ours being mainly that the cultivator in a Native State is seldom or never sold up, and that he is usually treated much as a good bullock is treated, *i. e.*, he is left with enough to feed and clothe him and his family, so that they may continue to work."

If we pursue the comparison to that with European peoples, Indian taxation would seem but a trifle. Even placing English taxes side by side with India's, we shall find instruction. The average income in the United Kingdom is £40, while the tax assessed is 44s., or 5½ per cent. In India, alas! the average income is only 36s. But then the tax is only 1s. 9d. per capita, which is a trifle less percentage than that for England. Here again we are not impressed with any injustice of the people. Indeed, when we remember the vast efficiency of the government of to-day, as compared with any in the past, we are impressed with the reasonableness of the tax assessed.

III.

We shall now hurriedly glance at some of the blessings conferred by England upon this land.

The least valuable, even if the most marked and manifest, is the material progress which meets one on all sides. Already, the splendid railway system upon which travel is as comfortable as, and perhaps cheaper than, that of any other country in the world, has extended 20,000 miles and reaches the remotest parts of the land. No other Eastern country lends itself so easily to the globe

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trotter for travel and observation. And these throbbing arteries carry life and enterprise to all portions of the land. And many regions not yet made thus accessible will soon listen to the neighing of the iron horse and feel the pulsations of new life thereby. Two hundred and fifty million pounds have been expended in this work alone.

But better, if possible, than these roads is the grandly developing irrigation system which brings security of life and works prosperity wherever it reaches. Thirteen million acres are now artificially cultivated under this system. The last great enterprise in this line is the "Peryar Project," in South India. It was grand in its conception, perfect in its execution and is rich in its blessings. It consists in the diversion of a large river which vainly poured its treasures down the western mountain side into the Arabian Sea, causing its water to flow into the eastern plains to fertilize the thirsty land as far as the Bay of Bengal. It embraces the second largest dam in the world, a tunnel one and one-quarter miles long through the mountain, and many miles of distributing channels. It will irrigate at least 150,000 acres for rice cultivation and will feed 400,000 people. The writer lives in the heart of the region thus fertilized and refreshed, and can appreciate the joy of the people, who also stand astonished before the magic power of these white people who do for them what, they say, even their gods failed to accomplish.

Add to this the water works which are rapidly covering all the important towns of the land, and which save many thousands of lives annually.

In the town of Madura, where the writer lives, terrible cholera epidemics were of annual occurrence. Their devastating work we shall never forget. But during the last decade—since the water works were completed—this demon of diseases has lost its hold, life has resumed its preciousness, and sanitation has become a blessed reality. This grand effort to spread the blessings of good water throughout the land is the surest way to prevent the terrible scourges of famine and plague, and to add a large premium upon life and health.

Looking at the commerce of the Victorian reign alone, we see a growth of 1,000 per cent. in the imports and exports of India. The export of tea alone has risen from nothing to seventy thousand tons, and that of cotton from nothing to 220,000 tons. There are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

now in the land 150 cotton mills with 150,000 laborers. Three million tons of coal are annually mined, and gold mines yield one million pounds, sterling, every year. It may indeed be said that India has now, for the first time in its history, taken a place as a land of manufactures, trade and commerce.

Political progress is also very marked. Before the British reign, India had never experienced the first taste of representative institutions. To-day, the query which arises in the mind of disinterested persons who know and love India is whether political rights and liberties have not, of late years, been conferred too rapidly upon the people. It should not be expected that a people who, by natural taste, instinct and unbroken heritage, are the children of the worst kind of autocratic and absolute forms of government, should acquire in an age or a century wisdom or aptitude to rule themselves. Taking the mass of Hindus, they ask no more, and seek nothing better, than a wise and kind paternal government. In this, as in all else, they love to be led; and they follow easily.

But there is a small and growing party of the soil who have aptly learned many of the lessons taught them by the rulers. The best acquired of all these lessons is that of the power of agitation and of the efficacy, among the Anglo-Saxon race, of the cry for human rights. The only difficulty is that one might suppose, from the language of some of these men, that England has not yet conceded to worthy Indians any of those political privileges which every Anglo-Saxon subject demands for himself. As a matter of fact, we see in all the municipalities a form of popular government such as not all Western countries enjoy. The power of franchise in the election of municipal commissioners is vested in all those who may be possessed of the least modicum of property. Even women enjoy this franchise. And it is a curious fact that natives in South India are protesting to-day, in the newspapers, against the granting of this power to women, because, they say, the power is exercised only by dancing girls and other public characters. To those who watch carefully the working of this municipal franchise and see how easily and speedily the natives have adopted all the vices and tricks of the representative system, it does not, by any means, seem an unmixed good. And the hardest critics of the system that the writer has met have been intelligent and loyal natives, who believe that this meed of self-government is fraught with evil. The District Boards also are composed almost entirely of native

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gentlemen, and these have large powers in the administration of the internal affairs of the land. Moreover, these municipal and local bodies, together, elect members for the Provincial legislative bodies, where they enjoy recently enlarged powers of interpellating the government—a power which, by excessive use or abuse, they may soon forfeit. To all this must be added the freedom of the press, which also has recently been abused by the dissemination of seditious sentiments, but which adds immensely to the power of the people. Then the "National Congress" is a peculiar institution, which, while it gives scope to the political aspirations of many natives, adds, by its very existence, to the lustre of the British reign in the land. Just imagine, for a moment, such a Congress existing under Russian rule! It is true that the chief work of the Congress, in the past, has been to criticise and abuse government. By this it has alienated many of its best friends. Still, even as a public censor, it has doubtless done good, and it offers to the discontented a wholesome vent for pent-up ill feeling. It is also a remarkable gathering and illustrates one of the wonders which this government has accomplished. To think that, out of the babel of Indian tongues, there should gather together in one place annually some three thousand native gentlemen, to discuss state questions and to criticise one of the most modern of all governments in the pure English accents of Addison or of Macaulay! What an object lesson of progress in itself!

Nor is Great Britain as remiss, or as selfish, as many would lead us to believe in the distribution of the loaves of office. There are only 100,000 Britishers in this land—one to every three thousand of the population. Of these only 750 are found in the higher offices of government. In the Provincial services 2,449 natives are employed in high judicial and administrative posts. It is a significant fact that, out of 114,150 appointments, carrying Rs. 1,000 annually, 97 per cent. are in the hands of natives. To all offices below that of a Governor of a Province, natives are eligible. As Judges of the High Courts and as members of the legislative bodies, not a few Indians are now found; as they are also in the Indian Civil Service, which was so long exclusively filled by Anglo-Indians. It hardly appears how England can hold this great land to herself, and as a great member of her Empire, with fewer of her own citizens than are now found at the helm. Nor does it yet appear that a strong, efficient and acceptable government can be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

maintained by a large reduction of this force. I use the word "acceptable" advisedly; and it is certainly the business of Great Britain to discover and consult the wishes of the people—not the hungry office seekers—in this matter. After many years of observation and living among the people, the writer is convinced that nine-tenths of the people would be prepared any day to vote in favor of the relative increase, and not the decrease, of the European official force. The people have found them to be just and honest. They know that they can be depended upon to administer justice with an even hand, and that they are incorruptible. In their own native officials they have no confidence. They have found, alas, too often that justice is sold to the highest bidder. The "middle men" who arrange such matters are too well known as the accompaniments of native courts of justice. It is true that some native officials are above such venality. But the writer knows how general is the want of native confidence in natives. Many a time has he been importuned to use his influence to have cases transferred from the jurisdiction of the native to the Englishman. And the reason invariably given is that "the white man will not accept bribes and will give justice." Indeed, it may be said that the chief difficulty which confronts the Government, in its great work, is that of saving the people from low, mercenary and unprincipled native officials—especially those of the lower and lowest grades. The police department is corrupt to the core. The common people dread the police almost more than they do the highwayman; for the constable rarely touches a case without making something out of the transaction, and is expert in manufacturing cases. It is hard to imagine how a department can be much more corrupt than this. And yet it is difficult to suggest a way of improving the department; for the system is not to blame, but the wretched class of men who have to be employed. What India needs to-day, above all else, is an honest, faithful, efficient class of officials. And the presence of the few English dignitaries does ten times more good to the land in purifying and toning up the service than their salary is worth.

The educational advance of the country has been quite phenomenal.

It is sadly true that, at present, only one male in ten, and one female in one hundred and sixty, is able to read. It is also true that, owing to the poverty of the country, such an excellent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and efficient system of popular education as the United States enjoys is an impossibility. Government in the main tries to aid and encourage private bodies in the educational line, and is supposed to conduct only a few model institutions of its own. It is also well known how opposed the people, even the Brahmans, have been to female education. And yet there are to-day 3,500,000 youths attending the public schools. And, of these, one-ninth (400,000), including 75,000 girls, are found in mission schools. There are 140 colleges affiliated with the few examining universities of the land. And in these are found 17,000 students, of whom more than 5,000 graduate yearly. Among the colleges the Madras Christian College stands supreme, with nearly 2,000 students in all its departments.

Under the influence of this educational work, which is conducted in such a way as to add supreme emphasis to an English training, there is a growing host of young men who are almost crazed with a passion for English culture and degrees. It is one of the problems of the day to direct the mind of this increasing army of university graduates to other professions than the over-crowded government service. There is a persistent feeling among these youth that it is the business of State to supply them with lucrative posts upon their graduation. And it is the disappointed element of this class which furnishes so many of the discontented, blatant demagogues who are almost a menace to the land.

Yet this educational work is one of the potent leavening influences of the land and is helping greatly in carrying quietly forward one of the mightiest revolutions that have been witnessed in any land. In its trail follows closely the social elevation of the people. The relaxation of the terrible caste system, the elevation of woman and her redemption from some of the cruelties and injustice of the past; the loud and general desire for a many-sided social reform—these and many other things bear unmistakable testimony to the new social life upon which the country is entering. It is true that a great deal of hollow cant and mawkish pretense joins in this chorus. Many prominent men eloquently proclaim, upon the platform, the glories of progress and the sacredness of individual liberty. The next hour they grovel as the abject slaves of debasing customs in their homes, and bend submissively to the reactionary dictates of their ignorant and superstitious grandmothers. But there is a small and growing body of men who

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are tired of such loud-mouthed hypocrisy, and are demanding an all-round and heroic advance in all matters where reform is needed. And their voice will prevail.

Religiously, India has entered upon a new and wonderful era; not simply, or chiefly, because of a visible and strong tendency towards Christianity. The religion of Jesus is certainly making encouraging headway. Its more than two and a half million adherents in this land furnish abundant cheer and hope for its rapid and early triumph in this land of the Vedas.

Deep tides of influence, invisible to, and unfelt by, any save those in the country, are moving mightily towards the end of Christian hope and aspiration for this great people. The desire of India for Christ is not articulate, nor is it fully conscious of its trend. Even a strong feeling in the minds of many is peculiarly anti-Christian and pro-Vedantic. There is a cry from many for the conservation of the ancestral faith and for a hearty return to the faith of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Bhagavad-gita. There is among such a fierce antagonism to all that is Christian, and especially to the missionary. But these noisy few are not the people; nor are they always sincere in their cry. The great excitement of a year and a half ago has passed. It was then that Vivekananda returned in triumph from his American campaign through which he claimed that he had gained numberless converts to his Vedantic faith. He led many to believe that Hinduism had suddenly waked up from its slumber of ages and was entering upon a glorious era of world-wide conquest. That wave has now subsided, and the yellow-robed "Swamy" with it.

Among the evidences of the religious progress of this era, are found more than twenty laws enacted by this government for the abolishment of cruelties carried on under the sanction of Hinduism. Not only Suttee, infanticide and thuggism, but other hideous and nameless evils have been prohibited; so that this ancient faith has put on an appearance of respectability, which would puzzle its devotees of a century ago could they return to see it now. Witness also the many Somajes which add picturesqueness to the religious life of the land. Perhaps the most noted, though not the most popular, is the Brahmo Somaj. The members of this new eclecticism and religious reform are not many, but they wield a large influence and they reveal a part of the general discontent with the religious past of the land.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus, to sum up, England has done bravely and well the mighty work undertaken by her in this historic land. She has not been, and is not now, without failings; and her line of progress is studded with many errors. But she has been faithful to her trust and has carried it out in no narrow, selfish way. The warm and deep loyalty of India bears testimony to this; for native sentiment reveals marked appreciation.

Mr. Dutt, an Indian and a retired member of the Civil Service, in his recent book on "England and India," remarks: "We have thrown in our lot with a nation, not only one of the greatest on earth, but also one of the most progressive. . . . Surely the history of India during a hundred years has been emphatically a history of progress. . . . The times are with us, and the signs of the times are so clear that he who runs may read."

Great Britain cannot be too careful in correcting her errors in her Indian rule and in studying to solve well the large and vital problems before her.

But she certainly merits all praise from the world for the heroic work done here during the last century and a half and the marvelous results achieved. And she deserves the supreme gratitude of a great people whom she has raised out of the depths of semi-barbarism and carried, in many respects, abreast of civilization and progress. This gratitude she has not only won; she is enjoying it, too, from the hearts of the many millions of this stolid but appreciative people.

J. P. JONES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVIVAL OF THE MORMON PROBLEM.

BY EUGENE YOUNG.

It is with no little wonder that the American people—still vaguely grappling with the results of the war with Spain—have turned from visions of imperial destiny to find renewed defiance of their political and social system in the very heart of the Republic. The nation had believed the Mormon question settled. When the Mormon leaders and conferences agreed, in 1890, that they no longer wished to disobey the will of the American people, and asked that they be considered only by the standard of Americanism, their pledges were accepted, and they were welcomed as prodigals, who thenceforth were not to disturb the domestic tranquility of the nation.

There seems to be a subtle connection, however, between our national troubles and the progress of Mormonism. The war with Mexico found the so-called Latter Day Saints leaving our Republic, embittered against all things American, and determined to find, in the unexplored West, a haven where they would be free from interference. They wanted a holy land—even like Judea of old—where their prophets would be kings, and where the test of the public official and the defender of the state would be his faith in their theology. They found this land, but, after they had settled it, our statesmanship made them Americans still in name, and changed the object of their ambition to that of swaying the great Republic to their own ends.

The beginning of the Civil War found this same people restrained from open sedition only by the presence among them of a strong military force, that was woefully needed for stamping out the first flames of rebellion in the South. The Mormons fretted under the nation's authority. They derided our laws and our system of marriage. They demanded, as of right, sovereign state-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hood, which would permit them to live their religion as they chose, to foster polygamy, and to perpetuate the terrible doctrine of blood atonement for sins. Such, indeed, was their disloyalty to their country in its time of peril that the troops, when called away for service against the forces of secession, destroyed cannon and ammunition rather than leave these stores where they might fall into Mormon hands. During the period of reconstruction the Americanism of Utah rested upon the guns of the fort which frowned upon its capital. Mormons openly defied the Government to administer its laws against polygamy, terrorized those who might think of leaving their fold or of ferreting out its secrets, and, finally, seeing the futility of armed resistance, stubbornly carried their fight into the courts of law in a vain endeavor to impress their practices upon the nation.

The contest, begun with the Civil War, lasted for thirty years; and, after they had exhausted every resource in their efforts to defend themselves, the Mormons declared they had surrendered to overwhelming power. They had, indeed. Their lands had been escheated. Their courts, their juries, their elections, their laws were controlled from Washington, and were in the hands of those who had no sympathy with their beliefs. Polygamists had been disfranchised in Utah and all Mormons disfranchised in Idaho. More than that, leading men and women were in prison for polygamy, or were in hiding from officials whose movements spread terror throughout their villages. Threatened with greater evils even than these, they had no alternative except to give some promise that would shield them for a time. That they did so only when they had fought their case through Congress and then through the Supreme Court of the United States and had found they need expect no mercy, shows how strong a hold their faith had upon them. Their surrender left Mormonism unchanged, however. They did not declare that they had been in the wrong. They did not admit that polygamy was not a part of the divine plan for the salvation of the world, nor that it was not proper for those who hold the keys of the priesthood to dictate the laws for the State. The most they said was that they would suspend these doctrines.

In view of such conditions, it is not strange that, at a time when the nation is preoccupied with great world problems, this people, whose one idea is that they are to overturn all worldly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government, should have found their opportunity of presenting again to Congress those principles for which they had sacrificed so much. That they have never really abandoned the idea of one day making these principles triumphant, and that their pretended surrender was only a *ruse* to gain the protection of statehood, are thoughts that are now impressing the minds of those who have followed the course of Mormonism since the supposed revolution in their faith.

In the first place, polygamy has not been abandoned as a necessary part of Mormon doctrine. It is still a principle as vital to salvation as that of repentance. The revelation which the "prophet," Joseph Smith, promulgated begins solemnly:

"Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, My servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of My hand to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified My servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as also Moses, David and Solomon, My servants, touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines: Behold! and lo, I am the Lord, thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter. Therefore, prepare to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same; *for behold, I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not by that covenant then ye are damned;* for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into My glory; for all who will have a blessing at My hands shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof *as was instituted from before the foundation of the world;* and as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fullness of My glory; and he that receiveth the fullness thereof, must and shall abide the law or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God."

There is no hint, in these high-sounding phrases, of the polygamy of the Orientals, none of the merely physical elements on which are founded the harems of the Turk and the dreams of houris of the Arab. There is no suggestion of immorality that instinctively offends the senses. Rather, in the eyes of those who believe Joseph Smith was the "prophet," paving the way for the coming dispensation of Jesus Christ, the revelation is the reassertion of a majestic principle instituted by the God of the universe, and far above all thoughts of mere human passions. The revelation continues:

"Abraham received promises concerning his seed and of the fruit of his loins, from whose loins ye are—namely, My servant Joseph Smith—which were to continue so long as they were in the world, and, as touching Abraham and his seed out of the world they shall continue. This promise is yours also because ye are of Abraham. Go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into My law and ye shall be saved."

Succeeding prophets of the church have added to this doctrine,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strengthening the idea that the plan of plural marriage was not a temporary expedient, but a necessary part of the plan of salvation. Brigham Young told the people that Eve was only one of the wives of Adam when they came to this world to people it, and that Adam had come from among the gods, and was the only god with whom this world would be concerned. Men were taught that their position in the world to come would depend upon their activity in peopling this. Women were informed that the last dispensation—when Jesus Christ Himself should appear—was not far away, and that millions of souls were awaiting in the other world to be given "tabernacles of flesh" before that glorious time. Those who entered the order, it was declared, should become gods and rulers and queens in the world to come, while those who held themselves aloof should be only angels and servants to the faithful. In the Mormon theology, it will thus be seen, polygamy is not a question to be decided on grounds of human inclination, but a great vital principle on which is hinging salvation for themselves and for those souls in a previous existence who cannot reach the highest glory without being born into this world.

Against this stern and "everlasting" doctrine stands only one utterance of the Mormon church—the manifesto issued in 1890 by the late "prophet," Wilford Woodruff. By the liberal ones among the Mormons, and by the Gentiles hopeful of true Americanism in Utah, this document was taken as a formal abandonment of polygamy. Yet, when one reads it carefully, it appears woefully weak beside the command uttered by Joseph Smith. "My advice to the Latter Day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land," are the only words in it that can be construed as an abandonment of polygamy. In court, it is true, President Woodruff explained that the manifesto was intended to lead his people to "obey all the laws of the land." The present prophet, Lorenzo Snow, testified that the intention was that "the law should be observed in all matters concerning plural marriage." The manifesto was further interpreted in a petition for amnesty in 1891, addressed to President Cleveland, in which it was stated that "the present head of the church, in anguish and prayer, cried to God for help for his flock, and received permission to advise the members of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, that the law commanding polygamy was henceforth suspended."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Suspended! There is the key to the revival of the polygamy problem. There is not one syllable, in authoritative Mormon utterances, to show that the obligation to "do the works of Abraham" has been lessened in the theology of the church. There is nothing to show for what time the doctrine is suspended, and the inference is obvious that, whenever the Mormon priesthood shall decide to end the period of suspension, the revelation of Joseph Smith—still threatening damnation to those who refuse obedience—will have all its old force in Mormon theology. Nor is there any need of making public announcement of this decision. It may be carried in secret from the head of the church through the priesthood meetings to the faithful members, and no Gentile and no doubtful Mormon be the wiser. The revelation of polygamy for nine years was denied by Mormon leaders while they lived under the system, and was not announced until 1852, when, in the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, it was considered safe to give this new doctrine to the world.

Now, to turn to the other objectionable phase of Mormonism, it can be asserted with equal positiveness that the doctrine of church control in political affairs has not been modified, but at best merely altered in its application. It is this doctrine that has filled Mormon history with tales of riots and bloodshed, emigrations and suffering. From the organization of their church the Mormon people have always recognized a higher authority than the Government of the United States. That higher authority they have called God, but it has been represented by the "prophet" president of the church, his two counselors and the quorum of twelve apostles. Until the division on national party lines in Utah, in 1891, that authority had always been followed blindly and unitedly by the people. Such slavish obedience had aroused the anger of the people of Missouri and Illinois in turn, and in the first half of the century had caused the expulsion of the Mormons from the regions of civilization. In Utah it awakened the most bitter sentiment, Americans resenting the idea that any other motive than the good of the Republic should dictate the acts of voters.

Mormon theological works are filled with commands to the people to obey their leaders in the priesthood in all things. "His (the prophet's) words ye shall receive as if from My mouth," says one of Joseph Smith's revelations. "Whatever I might have ob-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tained in the shape of learning by search or study," said Wilford Woodruff in the days of his apostleship, "whatever principles I may have imbibed during my scientific researches, yet, if the prophet of God should tell me that a certain theory or principle which I might have learned was not true, I do not care what my ideas might have been, I would consider if my duty at the suggestion of my file leader to abandon that principle or theory." "If Brother Brigham (Young) tells me to do anything, it is the same as though the Lord told me to do it," said Heber C. Kimball, a leader of olden days. "Mormonism is comprised in one sentence," said Apostle George Teasdale a few years ago; "pay your tithing and obey the priesthood." It was under such doctrines as these that Joseph Smith, in Illinois, bargained with politicians for the votes of his people, and the successors of the "prophet" dictated the choice of officials in Utah from ward justices of the peace to delegate in Congress.

Immediately following the issuance of the manifesto on polygamy, or in 1891, the Mormon first presidency in an authorized interview gave what purported to be a promise that church and state in Utah should be separated. "The church will not assert any right to control the political action of its members," they said. They went even further, and made this personal statement: "As officers of the church, we disclaim the right to control the political action of the members of our body." Here again, however, is a careful avoidance of any qualification of the vital principle of the Mormon faith. The pledges bind nobody as to action in politics, but simply disclaim a right supposed to exist. Mormon officials are as free as ever to "counsel" their followers in politics, as they do in church affairs and business matters, perhaps not asserting any right to dictate, but knowing that their doctrine makes their counsel the word of God to the faithful among their followers.

That a far stronger interpretation was put upon these pledges, by the liberal Mormons, by the Gentiles of Utah and by the people of the country, cannot be doubted. Americans are not used to the subtleties of Eastern diplomacy. They accepted the Mormon utterances in the broadest sense. Nor is this surprising when we remember that even those who had been able most keenly to penetrate the depths of Mormon practices, failed to note the inconclusive nature of assurances upon which the Mormon people

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

asked for statehood. Those who doubted had their suspicions set at rest by the belief that the Mormons themselves were weary of polygamy and priestly rule, and were prepared to resist any attempt to restore the conditions under which they suffered so grievously. Delegate J. L. Rawlins, now Senator, voiced the conservative sentiment in Utah when he said, in the House of Representatives, in 1893: "The people of Utah shrink from no test not violative of the fundamental principles upon which our institutions rest;" and "the practice of polygamy is not only discontinued, but, so far as the great mass of the Mormon people is concerned, is eradicated as a belief."

It is only now—when Utah has sent as its Representative in Congress one who typifies militant Mormonism—that the real nature of Mormon surrender has been learned; and the Gentiles of Utah are coming to realize that they are at last under the complete control of a sect which seems determined to compel the nation to recognize that which it has been at so much pains to repress. This is a strong statement, involving as it does the weal of a people three hundred thousand strong. I would hesitate long to make it, had not personal investigation, conversations with those who have watched the growth of Mormonism for a score of years, contact with Mormons who guide the policy of the church, and a close study of the course of affairs in Utah since 1890, brought the conviction that the un-American policy of Brigham Young is the policy of Lorenzo Snow and his followers.

Sufficient evidence in support of this statement is found in the attitude of Brigham H. Roberts, whom the people of Utah elected to Congress last November by a majority of 6,000. Around him have centered many of the dramatic events in the recent political history of Utah, and he represents, perhaps better than anybody else, the aspirations of the Mormon leaders and the obedience of their followers. He is a high official, one of the "first seven presidents of seventies," the leaders of the great body of elders. He is the author of the leading modern works on Mormon theology, including an essay to prove that all the Christian churches apostatized after the time of Christ; a pamphlet to demonstrate that Brigham Young was the legitimate successor of Joseph Smith; a discussion of the first principles of the Mormon gospel, and finally a volume upholding the divinity of the mission of Joseph Smith. He has devoted many years to missionary work

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the church, and, in 1893, he was formally recognized as the leading speaker in it by being chosen to present its doctrines to the Congress of Religions at the World's Fair in Chicago.

In his latest volume, "The New Witness for God," is found the advanced belief of Mormonism. The work was examined by a committee of theologians, appointed especially by the first presidency of the church, who pronounced it "orthodox and consistent with our teachings." It was published in 1895, years after the supposed revolution within the church, and yet there is in it no sign of abatement of the doctrines taught by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. No stronger assertion of the ideas underlying polygamy could be found than in this passage:

"When I say that the prophet taught that the resurrection is a reality, that the relationship of husband and wife is intended to be eternal, together with all its endearing affections, I mean all that in its most literal sense. . . . Instead of the God-given power of pro-creation being one of the chief things that is to pass away, it is *one of the chief means of man's exaltation and glory in that great eternity* which, like an endless vista, stretches out before him. Through it, man attains to the glory of the endless increase of eternal lives, and the right of presiding as priest and patriarch, king and lord over his ever-increasing posterity. . . . Through that law, in connection with all the other laws of the Gospel, *man will yet attain unto the power of the Godhead.*"

Nor is the assertion of the authority of the priesthood any less emphatic. Speaking of the organization of the Mormon church, he says:

"First and highest of all officers, stands the first presidency, consisting of three presiding high priests. *Their jurisdiction and authority are universal.* Their jurisdiction extends over all the affairs of the church, as well in temporal as in spiritual things. . . . The quorum of the twelve apostles are equal in power and authority to the first presidency. . . . The first quorum of seventies" (of which Mr. Roberts is a president) "are equal in authority to the quorum of the twelve. . . . None, not even the highest, is beyond the operation of the laws and councils of the church."

Now, having demonstrated, I believe, that Mormonism is still unchanged theoretically, it remains only to inquire whether its practices are still in accord with its theories. Has it really abandoned polygamy as an active tenet, and has the authority of the priesthood been absent from the councils of state in Utah since 1891?

Answering the first half of the question, we have abundant evidence that polygamy in one form, at least, is still being actively practiced in the State. Mr. Roberts was opposed, throughout his canvass for Congress, on the ground that one of plural

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wives had borne children to him within two years. This not only was not denied, but it brought forth the statement that the leading men of the church were in the same position, President Snow himself being publicly charged with having a child by his last plural wife within the last two years. The Presbyterian missionaries of Utah declared that more than 2,000 children had been born in polygamy since Utah became a State on the first of January, 1896; and the reply of the Mormon church to this assertion was an editorial in the "Deseret News," the official church organ, declaring that there was an "understanding, not to say, contract," with the nation that old relations should not be disturbed, and that the system should be permitted to die out with this generation. There is no disposition anywhere to deny that polygamous relations entered into before 1890 are still continued.

This in itself is highly significant, as indicating a Mormon purpose to uphold plural marriage at all hazards. That there was no "understanding" that these relations should be continued is easily demonstrated. The amnesty proclamations of both Presidents Harrison and Cleveland extended executive clemency to those polygamists only, who should not thereafter transgress the law against "cohabitation" with plural wives. Moreover, the Mormon legislature of 1892 passed a territorial law to punish all who might commit this offence; that law was drafted into the statute books of the State by a code commission headed by a Mormon, and it still exists there, though now made a dead letter.

There would be little disposition, however, to renew the attack on the Mormons, if this were their only offence. It might be considered too ungenerous, no doubt, to demand that women who had been sealed to men in plurality for "time and eternity" should be put aside by their husbands. The really important question in this connection is, whether the disregard of this one obligation by the people is paving the way for the announcement that new polygamous marriages are being made, and that the doctrine is being taught within the church with its old vigor.

In a recent visit to Utah I had occasion to investigate, in Salt Lake City, twenty cases wherein it was charged that new polygamous marriages had been made. These were not isolated instances, either, for I received evidence that such cases could be multiplied many fold in other parts of the State. The evidence, I found, was of such a nature that I could not doubt there had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been new marriages, that the church had sanctioned them, and that every precaution was being taken to keep them secret, until the time should come when the church should see fit to announce openly its determination to restore plural marriage. Former Senator Frank J. Cannon, in a recent address in Salt Lake City, has openly charged two leading apostles with such a design. Members of the twelve apostles and the first quorum of seventies, who, to quote Mr. Roberts, "are the witnesses of the Lord Jesus Christ in all the nations of the earth," figured in these instances.

In cases of this nature the ceremony is believed to have been performed outside of Utah, in order to retain the appearance of respecting the constitutional prohibition of polygamous marriages, exacted by Congress as a condition of statehood. There are large colonies of Mormons in Canada and Mexico, and in them it is charged such marriages are being performed. Proof of the ceremonies is, however, inaccessible. The whole power of our Government could never bring forth a record of polygamous marriages, and only twenty-nine convictions for the offense of taking new wives were made in the seven years of the polygamy prosecutions, as against hundreds for "unlawful cohabitation."

Such a state of affairs, in fact, would be in thorough accord with the present teachings in the church. "The belief in plural marriage is as much a part of our belief as it ever was," are the words uttered last year by Owen A. Woodruff, the youngest member of the Apostles. "I feel to sustain the principles of the gospel, even to the extent of taking more wives, if necessary," are the words of Apostle Heber J. Grant, spoken only last November. Mr. Roberts taunted the Christians in the "Improvement Era," a church publication, last May, with the necessity of believing in polygamy if they believed in Abraham. Such teachings within the last three years, in priesthood meetings, gatherings of young men and women, in the Mormon press, and even in the conferences of the people, are portents of the new revival within the church.

Turning now to the latter part of our question, the proof is more definite as to the relations between church and State. Revelations of secret manipulations made within the last three years demonstrate that at no time have the church leaders lost their control of politics. My statements on this point are based on evidence of which there has been no attempt at contradiction.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The division of the Mormon people in 1891 into Democrats and Republicans was not a spontaneous popular movement. It was decided upon at a meeting of the church leaders and the territorial committee of the People's or Mormon party. The Saints, left to their own resources, turned overwhelmingly to the Democratic party in the first year of their freedom. The Mormon leaders soon found this unfortunate, however, for their representatives were received coldly by President Harrison and a Republican Senate when attempts were made to secure statehood and amnesty for polygamy. Orders were then given that the people should be more evenly divided, in order to enable the leaders to hold a balance of power, as well as to make both parties anxious to gain the support of the prospective State. Apostles went through the territory, and in priesthood meetings actually designated men to be Republicans, and gave orders for the equal division. The result was a great decrease in the Democratic vote in 1892, and the election of a Republican delegate in 1894. An admission was made in the recent session of the Utah Legislature, on behalf of George Q. Cannon, of the Mormon first presidency, that in this time "he did plead with some of the brethren that they did not have to be Democrats."

This programme was opposed by an influential element in the church, the leaders of which were Moses Thatcher, B. H. Roberts and A. W. Ivins. These men gained a great following by 1895, the year of the first election of State officers. In the northern and southern counties of Utah, they had organized formidable opposition among the young Mormons, and had set at defiance the orders of the priesthood. Mr. Ivins was the choice of the younger Democratic element for Governor, but a week before the party's State convention he was ordered to take charge of the Mexican mission of the church, and could do nothing but obey. Mr. Thatcher was nominated for a Senatorship and Mr. Roberts for Congressman. In the midst of their canvass, President Woodruff criticised them for not taking counsel of their church leaders before accepting the nominations, and it was then that a Democratic State convention was reconvened, open charges of the use of church influence were made by Mormons, and strong resolutions demanding the divorcement of church and state were adopted. Mr. Thatcher and Mr. Roberts both defied their eccelesiastical superiors, and were supported by a great body of the churchmen.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They were defeated, however, and at the next conference a manifesto was issued by the high church authorities, which said:

"We unanimously agree to and promulgate as a rule that should always be observed in the church and by every leading official thereof, that, before accepting any position, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, and before accepting a nomination or entering into engagements to perform new duties, said official should apply to the proper authorities and learn whether he can, consistently with the obligations already entered into with the church upon assuming office, take upon himself the added duties and labors and responsibilities of the new position."

Mr. Thatcher refused to sign this document. He was stripped of his apostleship, hurt in his business affairs, partially ostracised socially, and defeated in his effort to be elected to the United States Senate. Mr. Roberts signed the manifesto. He retired from the editorial chair of the "Salt Lake Herald" because of his action, and for two years took no part in politics. In the meantime, the leaders of the independent element of young Mormons were crushed politically, or sent away on missions for the church, and the rebellion died out. The result was the nomination last year of Mr. Roberts by a Democratic convention, which obeyed the will of Apostle Grant, the church leader who had been most active in suppressing all opposition to the political manifesto. Of those young Mormons who led the fight against church and State, Mr. Roberts is the only one who has succeeded in Utah politics, and the favor undoubtedly has come to him because he gave his influence to the church at the critical moment when it had set out to crush Mr. Thatcher.

Practically every important executive office in Utah is now in the hands of those who can be trusted to make no objection to the plans of the church leaders. The Legislature is kept in constant touch with the church office, when in sesssion, by a committee of high churchmen, who watch all legislation and counsel policy in all matters in which Mormon interests may be concerned.

Only one political organization of importance is held by the Gentiles—the School Board of Salt Lake City. An election for members of that body, last December, is the best illustration of the union of church and State, even in the centre of enlightenment of Utah. The Mormons needed one member of the Board to divide it evenly and two for a majority. They wished to control the Salt Lake City system, in order to abolish a high school which seriously competes with their church seminaries, to stop the liberal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

teachings that have been turning young Mormons away from the doctrines of their fathers, and also because of patronage and a salary list of $155,000 yearly. Once in control, the Mormon leaders could put devout churchmen in place of the teachers now employed—many of whom are of their faith however—and could exact from appointees the payment of the tithing which the church demands.

In one of the municipal wards of Salt Lake City, in December, a Mormon was openly a candidate against a Gentile who had been nominated by a non-partisan convention. In another, a candidate who had been nominated by a mass meeting was apparently unopposed, but learned only on the day before election that the Mormon leaders were plotting to defeat him, and that orders had been given by priests that all good Saints should vote for another man. These priests worked for the Mormon candidate at the polls next day, and it was only by a few score of votes out of 2,200 that the people's candidate was elected. Some liberal Mormons refused to follow priestly counsel, and saved the schools to the Gentiles; but the proof is clear that the great body of the churchmen in the capital itself are ready to do what they are told is in the "interests of Zion."

These are the conditions which have driven all the ministers of the Protestant churches of Utah together, and have brought a firm belief to many of the Gentiles that the old Mormon and anti-Mormon parties will soon be restored. What the end of such a fight would be no person can tell. The Mormons comprise about three-fourths of the population of Utah, and, with its immense power, the church could always rely on having a substantial following among the Gentiles. It would be forced to meet discontent and dissatisfaction within its own ranks, but a serious schism could not occur. Any attempt to start a movement against the designs of the leaders would be crushed, just as the Thatcher rebellion was. At any moment, the whole business, political and religious pressure of the priesthood can be brought against any man who might dare stand as a leader against it. In the history of Mormonism nobody has been found strong enough to resist this pressure. Mr. Thatcher, the strongest of all the revolutionists, bowed before the threat that he would be cast out from the body, believing, as he did, that by excommunication he would lose his hope of salvation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The priesthood can always rely on the women. They have been the strength of the church, even under that system of polygamy which made them "living martyrs." They have the full right of suffrage, and none who is not in accord with the church authorities need look for their support. The men are subject to a constant discipline that keeps them at all times in sympathy with the ambitions of the leaders. There are 1,500 Mormon missionaries now in the foreign work of the church, the brightest of its young men, the future leaders in all matters. They are compelled to sacrifice everything and to labor for two or three years far from home in the interests of their religion. None who goes through this experience ever forgets the power of the priesthood, and each understands that if he should show too great a spirit of independence, he may be called again to make the sacrifice. No young man in the church may be married in one of the temples unless he is faithful and obedient to his superiors, and no young woman would consider herself married in the sight of God unless she was "sealed" by the proper authorities. In business, in politics, in social life, everywhere, the young man meets the church, and he must be of iron if he dares to stand out against it. Many have done so in the past, but they have been the exceptions. Their numbers have never been sufficient to offset the church itself.

Thus, at present, the control of affairs in Utah lies wholly with the priesthood. It has spread its influence from Lethbridge, in Canada, to the centre of Chihuahua, in Mexico. Mormons have eleven members of the Legislature in Idaho, their settlements are spreading through Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Washington and Nevada. Their ambition is to control the nations of the world, and they have been promised that the time is not far distant when they will spread over North and South America, and become rulers of men, indeed. They have 300,000 members now. They gained 63,000 in membership last year, exceeding all other churches in their success in missionary work. Aggressive, devoted, determined, they present again a problem that well merits the attention of our wisest statesmen.

EUGENE YOUNG.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECOLLECTIONS OF "ORION" HORNE.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

THE recent publication of the love letters which passed, in 1845 and 1846, between Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett, has blown a little of the dust off several names which were brightly before the public then and have become sadly obscured since. The two learned lovers speak of Mr. Serjeant Talfourd and of his incomparable tragedy of "Ion," of Sir John Hanmer and his sonnets, of the terrible criticisms of Chorley, of the writings of Abraham Heraud and Silk Buckingham and Cornelius Mathews. These are faded notorieties with a vengeance. But amongst these names, faintly echoing from the earliest Victorian period, we meet with one more than the rest deserving of perpetuation, with at all events a greater mass of actually accomplished work attached to it, the name of Mr. Horne, the author of "Cosmo de Medici," of "Gregory VII.," and, above all, of "the farthing epic," the once extremely celebrated "Orion." And with this there comes vividly back to me a vision of an extraordinary personage, of whom I saw a great deal in my youth, and of whom I feel disposed to garner some of my impressions before I lose them.

He had been baptized Richard Henry Horne, but in late middle life he had changed the second of these names to Hengist. It was in 1874 that I set eyes on him first, in circumstances which were somewhat remarkable. The occasion was the marriage of the poet, Arthur O'Shaughnessy, to the eldest daughter of Westland Marston, the playwright. There was a large and distinguished company present, and most of the prominent "Preraphaelites," as they were still occasionally called. In the midst of the subsequent festivities, and when the bride was surrounded by her friends, a tiny old gentleman cleared a space around him, and, all uninvited, began to sit upon the floor and sing, in a funny little cracked

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voice, Spanish songs to his own accompaniment on the guitar. He was very unusual in appearance. Although he was quite bald at the top of his head, his milk-white hair was luxuriant at the sides, and hung in clusters of ringlets. His moustache was so long that it became whisker, and in that condition drooped, also in ringlets, below his chin. The elder guests were inclined to be impatient, the younger to ridicule this rather tactless interruption. Just as it seemed possible something awkward would happen, Robert Browning stepped up and said, in his loud, cheerful voice: "That was charming, Horne! It quite took us to 'the warm South' again," and cleverly leading the old gentleman's thoughts to a different topic, he put an end to the incident.

This scene was very characteristic of Horne, who was gay, tactless and vain to a remarkable degree. He had lately come back from Australia, where nothing had gone well with him for long together, and he did not understand the ways of the younger generation in London. But to those who could be patient with his peculiarities, he offered a very amusing study. He had delightful stories, many of which are still inedited, of the great men of his youth—Wordsworth, Hunt, Hazlitt, in particular. But he himself, with his incredible mixture of affectation and fierceness, humor and absurdity, enthusiasm and ignorance, with his incoherency of appearance, at once so effeminate and so muscular, was better than all his tales. He was a combination of the troubadour and the prize-fighter, on a miniature scale. It was impossible not to think of a curly white poodle when one looked at him, especially when he would throw his fat little person on a sofa and roll about, with gestures less dignified than were, perhaps, ever before seen in a poet of between seventy and eighty years. And yet he had a fine, buoyant spirit, and a generous imagination with it all. But the oddity of it, alas! is what lingers in the memory—those milky ringlets, the extraordinary turn of the head, the embrace of the beribboned guitar!

In a pathetic little letter which Horne wrote to me in his eightieth year, he said, quite placidly, that though he was now forgotten, no poet had ever had more pleasant things said of him by people dead and gone. It was perfectly true. Wordsworth and Tennyson, Leigh Hunt and Walter Savage Landor, had all praised his poetry; Carlyle had declared that "the fire of the stars was in him," and G. H. Lewes that he was "a man of the most unques-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionable genius." How highly Robert and Elizabeth Browning regarded him may be seen, over and over again, in the course of their correspondence. But his talent was of a very fugitive kind. He was a very remarkable poet for seven or eight years, and a tiresome and uninspired scribbler for the rest of his life. His period of good work began in 1837, when he published "Cosmo de Medici" and "The Death of Marlowe;" it closed in 1843, with the publication of "Orion," and the composition of all that was best in the "Ballad Romances." If any one wished to do honor to the *manes* of poor old Horne—and in these days far less distinguished poets than he receive the honors of rediscovery—the way to do it would be to publish in one volume the very best of his writings, and nothing more. The badness of the bulk of his later verse is outside all calculation. How a man who had once written so well as he, could ever come to write, for instance, "Bible Tragedies" (1881), is beyond all skill of the literary historian to comprehend.

But, although Horne was, for a short time, a good poet, he was always more interesting as a human being. His whole life was an adventure; it was like a "book for boys." He was pleased to relate that even his birth was not ordinary, for he came into the world so exactly at the stroke of midnight on the last day of the year, that it could never be decided whether he was born in 1802 or 1803. I do not know who his parents were or what his family. In the days when I saw so much of him, he appeared to be quite solitary; he never spoke of possessing a relative. He was trained for the army, and lost his chance through some foolish escapade. But before this he had been at school at Enfield, where Tom Keats, the poet's brother, and Charles Wells, who wrote "Joseph and His Brethren," had been his school-fellows. He used to tell us in his old age that he was once scampering out of school, when he saw the chaise of Mr. Hammond, the surgeon, standing at the door. John Keats, who was Hammond's apprentice, was holding the horse, his head sunken forward in a brown study; the boys, who knew how pugnacious Keats was, dared Horne to throw a snowball at him, which Horne did, hitting Keats in the back of the head, and then escaping round the corner at a headlong pace. It used to be very thrilling, in the eighties, to hear the old gentleman tell how he had actually snowballed Keats; almost as though one should arise and say that he had sold Shakespeare a cheese-cake.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just before he should have entered Sandhurst, the young Horne was lured away to America, and offered himself as a volunteer in the war of Mexican independence. He entered the new Mexican navy as a midshipman, and dashed about under irregular fire at the bombardment of Vera Cruz and at the seige of San Juan Ulloa. He used to tell us that he never would miss his swim in the sea in the morning, nor return to the ship until he had been well within range of the guns of Vera Cruz. The Spaniards could never hit him, he said; but one day when he was making a long nose at the gunners, he was as nearly as possible swallowed from behind by a shark. I forget how he accounted for his escape, but there was always a good deal of Baron Munchausen about Mr. Horne.

When the Mexican War was over, he strolled across the United States, with a belt full of doubloons girded about his person, and visited the Mohawks, the Oneidas and the Hurons. After many strange adventures, he must needs bathe in public under the cataract of Niagara. Two of his ribs were found to be broken when he was fished out again, insensible. He then took a steerage passage in a steamer that was wrecked in the St. Lawrence. He walked in moccasins over to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and started again in a timber ship, whose crew rose in mutiny, and set fire to her in mid-Atlantic; Mr. Horne quelled the mutiny and put out the fire, to the eternal gratitude of the captain, who fell upon his knees upon the deck and kissed his hands. I delighted in Mr. Horne's stories of his past life, but sometimes I used to fear that he exaggerated.

It was not until he was thirty years of age that Horne began to take up literature, and he was thirty-five when he enjoyed his first success with "Cosmo de Medici," an historical tragedy in blank verse, which has some very fine passages, and was greatly admired in the London coteries. Then came the period of seven years, of which I have spoken, in which Horne really took his place, with Browning and Tennyson, as one of the most promising young poets of the age. If he had died in 1844, he would probably hold a high place still, as an "inheritor of unfulfilled renown," but unfortunately he lived for forty more years, and never discovered that his talent had abandoned him. His "Orion," which was published in 1843, was brought out at the price of one farthing. Elizabeth Barrett sent out to the nearest book shop for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a shilling's worth, but was refused her four dozen copies. Purchasers had to produce their brass farthing for each "Orion," and no change was given. This was done "to mark the public contempt into which epic poetry has fallen," but it was also a very good advertisement. Everybody talked about Mr. Horne's "farthing" poem, and after some editions had run out, the price was cautiously raised. But when the tenth edition appeared, at a cost of seven shillings, the public perceived that its leg was being pulled, and it purchased "Orion" no more. In spite of all this, "Orion" is far, indeed, from being a humorous composition; it is an epical romance of Greek mythology, with some remote relation to the "Hyperion" of Keats, and contains some noble passages of poetry.

Space is not here at my command to say what varied employments Horne took up when the Muses began to abandon him. He was sub-editor of "Household Words" under Dickens, and special commissioner of the "Daily News" to Ireland when the great famine broke out. Suddenly, and desperately determined to marry, he went down to stay with Miss Mitford in Berkshire, and proposed to all the neighbouring heiresses one after another, to the intense indignation of that lady, who declared that he had used her hospitable dining-room to propose to a lady (with £50,000 a year) at lunch, and to another (with £40,000 a year) at tea. None of these efforts was crowned with success; perhaps, he had the presumption to be in love with Elizabeth Barrett, whom he had at that time never seen, although oceans of correspondence had passed between them. At all events, directly Robert Browning had carried off his eminent bride, Horne appeared with a little Miss Foggs upon his arm, whom he presently marrried. They did not get on together; why should history conceal the fact, when Horne himself was wont to dilate upon it so freely to his friends? Mrs. Horne, in tears, threw herself upon the paternal sympathy of Charles Dickens, and Horne sought a southern hemisphere.

In Australia he was commander of the Gold Escort, and it was delightful, years afterward, to hear him tell how he convoyed several tons of bullion from Ballarat to Melbourne amid every species of peril. Then he became Gold Commissioner to the Government, but here his flow of high spirits carried him away. He then flung himself into the cultivation of the cochineal insect, edited a Victorian newspaper, became Commissioner of Waterworks, gave

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lessons in gymnastics, professed the art of natation, and was one of the starters of Australian wine-growing. Long afterwards, when the first Australian cricketers came over to England, Horne wrote to me: "I learn that the cricketers have made *each* £1,000 over here! Why, oh! why did not I become an Australian cricketer, instead of an unprofitable swimmer? When years no longer smiled upon my balls and runs, I might have retired upon my laurelled bat, and have published tragedies at my own expense. Is there any redress for these things in another world? I don't think so; I shall be told I had my choice." He certainly paid his money. No one, I suppose, ever failed in so many brilliant, unusual enterprises, every one of which was sure to succeed when he adopted it.

When he came back from Australia, I think about 1869, he was in very low water. He had managed very deeply to offend Charles Dickens, who had taken up the cause of Horne's neglected wife. What happened to Horne in the early years after his return, I never heard; I fancy that he went abroad for some part of the time. A little later, Robert Browning, who had always felt a sincere regard for Horne, was able to be of practical service to him. He was encouraged to republish his poems, and to appeal by means of them to the new age. In these days, one used to meet him at afternoon parties, carrying with great care, under his arm, the precious guitar, which he called "my daughter," and was used ceremoniously to introduce as "Miss Horne." A little later Horne would be discovered on a low stool, warbling Mexican romances, or murmuring with exaggerated gallantry to the prettiest girl in the room. At this time he was thirsting for publicity—if he could only be engaged to sing in public, to box in public, to swim in public, how happy he would be! It used to be said that when he was nearly seventy, Horne persuaded the captain of a ship to tie his legs together and fling him into the sea, and that he swam with ease to the boat. A wonderful little ringletted athlete, no doubt!

A great deal of Horne's work in verse, and even in prose, remains unpublished, and is not very likely, I should think, to be ever printed. As I have said, his faculty, which had been so graceful, faded away from him about forty years before he died. When he was in Australia he wrote a good deal, among other things a choral drama, "Prometheus, the Fire-Bringer," which was actually composed out in the bush, and lost, and written all over again,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

still in the bush. The first edition of this poem is styled "by Richard *Henry* Horne," and the second, which followed soon after, "by Richard *Hengist* Horne," showing the period at which he adopted the more barbaric name. I have glanced through a mass of Horne's manuscript, which I possess (I believe that Mr. Buxton Forman possesses a great deal more), to see whether I can find anything unpublished which is good enough to offer to the readers of this REVIEW. The following impromptu is at least brief; it was composed when the poet was in his seventy-eighth year:

"THE SPRING-TIDE OF THE BARDS.

"Ah, where is the Spring-tide of Poets of old,
When Chaucer lov'd April and all her sweet showers,
When Spenser's knights felt not their armor strike cold,
Tho' lost in wet forests or dreaming in bowers?
'Tis a far other planet to us in this season,
And Nature must own we complain with some reason!

"For north winds, and east winds, and yellow-fac'd fogs,
And thunders and lightnings that scare buds and shoots,
May cheer the hoarse chorus of cold-blooded frogs,
But Man craves life's future, and fears for its fruits.
Then come again, Spring, like the dear songs of old,
Where the crocus smiled daily in sunlight and gold."

Horne's cheerfulness was a very pleasant feature in his character. Life had treated him very badly, love had missed him, fame had come down and crowned him, and then had rudely snatched the laurel away. If ever a man might have been excused for sourness, it was Horne. But he was a gallant little old man, and if it was impossible not to smile at him, it was still less possible not to recognize his courage and his spirit. Curiously enough, Elizabeth Barrett, who carried on so close a correspondence with Horne in her unmarried days, but who, warned by Miss Mitford, never would allow him to call upon her in person, had an accurate instinct of his merits and his weaknesses, and all the casual remarks about Horne, which she makes in the course of her letters to Robert Browning, strike one who knew Horne well in later years as singularly exact and perspicuous. His edition of her letters to him, published about twenty years ago in two volumes, is becoming a rare book, and contains many things of remarkable interest and importance.

It was from 1876 to 1879 that we saw him most frequently. He was living at this time in two rooms in Northumberland Street, Regent's Park, in very great poverty, which he bore with the gayest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and most gallant *insouciance*. An attempt was made—indeed, several attempts were made—to secure for him a little pension from the Civil List, and these were supported by Carlyle and Browning, Tennyson and Swinburne, to name no smaller fry. But all in vain; for some reason, absolutely inscrutable to me, these efforts were of no avail. It was darkly said that Mr. Gladstone would never, never yield; and he never did. When Lord Beaconsfield came into office, he granted the poor little old man £50 a year, but even then he had not too much food to eat nor clothes to keep him warm. Still he went bravely on, shaking his white ringlets and consoling himself with his guitar. He was fond of mystery, which is a great consoler. For economy's sake, he used to write on post-cards, but always with a great deal of care, so that the postman should be none the wiser. I have such a post-card before me now; it is an answer to a proposal of mine that he should come in and take dinner with us:

"Nov. 29, 1877.

"The Sharpshooter's friendly shot just received. By adroitly porting my helm, and hauling out my flying-jib, I shall, by 7 o'clock this evening, be able to get the weather-gauge of the Cape I was bound for, and run into your Terrace. Thine, REEFER."

Nothing, surely, could be more discreet than that.

To the very last he was anxious to regain his old place as a man of letters, and his persistency was really quite pathetic. One did not know what to do with his suggestions. I appeal to any one acquainted with the business of literature whether anything can be more trying than to receive this sort of communication:

"Don't you think curiosity might be aroused if you could induce the editor of the —— to print something of this kind: 'We understand that a leading periodical will shortly contain a Dramatic Scene by the Author of 'Orion,' entitled 'The Circle of the Regicides,' in which such interlocutors as Dr. Kobold, Prof. Franz Tollkopf, Hans Arbeitsdulder and Baron Dumm von Ehrsucht, will represent certain well-known characters. There will also be brought upon the scene the Apparitions of Brutus, Cromwell, the patriot Mazzini, and the philanthropist Robert Owen; together with a chorus of French and Russian revolutionists, with a trio and chorus of female Regicides.' On second thoughts, perhaps, better stop after 'Owen.'"

It was difficult to bring such suggestions as these within the range of practical literature.

Horne's physical strength was very extraordinary in old age. It was strangely incompatible with the appearance of the little man, with his ringletted locks and mincing ways. But he was past seventy before he ceased to challenge powerful young swim-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mers to feats of natation, and he very often beat them, carrying off from them cups and medals, to their deep disgust. He was nearly eighty when he filled us, one evening, with alarm by bending the drawing-room poker to an angle in striking it upon the strained muscles of his fore-arm. He was very vain of his physical accomplishments, and he used to declare that he was in training to be a centenarian. These are things that should never be said, they tempt the fates; so one day, just after poor Mr. Horne had been boasting, he was knocked down by a van in Lisson Grove, and, although he rallied in a wonderful way, he was never the same man again. Presently, on the 13th of March, 1884, he died at Margate, whither he had been removed to take the benefit of the sea-air. He was in his eighty-third year. It would be a great pity that a man so unique and so picturesque should be forgotten. As long as the world is interested in Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Horne can never be entirely forgotten, but he deserves to be remembered for his own sake.

EDMUND GOSSE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRITISH CAPITAL ABROAD.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F.S.S.

THE rapid growth of British investments in foreign countries is one of the most striking features of the concluding quarter of the nineteenth century. Widespread and vast as is the colonial empire of England, the rule of British capital is still more extended. It may be termed universal; for there is hardly a nook or corner of the globe where we are not confronted with docks, railways, shipping, banks, newspapers, water works, tramways, factories, etc., bearing the hall-mark of British gold, as conspicuous as the letters, "S. P. Q. R.," in ancient Rome. The heart of the true-born Englishman swells with pride at this manifestation of British wealth and enterprise, and yet he is, perhaps, mistaken in his reading of the oracle. And here, by way of preamble, it may be well to lay down a few general remarks, viz.: (1.) Investments abroad are a portion of the floating capital of a nation; (2.) The floating capital of Great Britain is much larger than that of other European countries; (3.) Floating capital may increase or diminish without reference to national wealth; (4.) Borrowing countries are sometimes richer than those that lend; (5.) Any arguments based on the overflow of capital as a proof of prosperity are fallacious.

1.—FLOATING CAPITAL.

Under this heading are comprised all stocks and shares, of whatever kind, that may be transferred from hand to hand at a moment's notice. It includes not only every variety of joint-stock companies, but also all public debts, national or local, and hence must always be considered apart from public wealth. Any fresh issue of public debt increases floating capital, but adds nothing to a nation's wealth; in like manner, a reduction of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

debt reduces floating capital, without detracting from the public fortune. Although there is no relationship between the two, it is well, for the sake of comparison, to place side by side the latest estimates of wealth and floating capital of the principal European States, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.		Dollars per Inhabitant.	
	Wealth.	Float. Capital.	Wealth.	Float. Capital.
United Kingdom..	59,100	21,200	1,480	530
France.....	48,400	13,160	1,260	340
Germany.....	40,200	7,360	790	144
Russia.....	32,100	2,030	305	18
Austria	22,600	1,960	525	46
Italy	15,800	1,410	510	46
Belgium....	4,900	1,420	790	225
Holland....	4,400	1,090	980	240
Eight countries	*227,500*	*49,630*	*700*	*154*

Neymarck showed in 1895 that the floating capital of France consisted of 10,820 million dollars at home and 2,340 millions invested abroad. An official return for Belgium, in March, 1898, sums up 1,420 million dollars. The figures for the other countries in the above table (except the United Kingdom), are taken from a table published by *L'Economiste Frangais* in 1897. If we make a reasonable estimate for countries omitted, the total floating capital of Europe will be found to reach 52 milliards (52,000 millions) of dollars, which may be classified under three heads, as in the following table:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	1848.	1870.	1897.
Debts.....	8,260	15,820	27,500
Railway Stock*.....	2,020	6,380	12,800
Miscellaneous.....	2,060	4,440	11,700
Total.....	12,340	26,640	52,000

Thus it appears that the floating capital of Europe has doubled since 1870, and quadrupled since 1848. Debts, national and municipal, have risen with astonishing rapidity, and the joint stock system has received unprecedented impulse from the onward march of commerce and civilization, calling for new railways, banks, mining and other enterprises, in all parts of the world.

2.—NEW CAPITAL CREATED

In 1893, Neymarck published a statement of the issue of new capital in Europe during twenty-two years, thus:

* This item represents the value of European railways at the respective dates, after deducting State railways.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	Millions of Dollars.		Millions of Dollars.	
	New Capital.	Yearly.	France took	Yearly.
1871-85	20,100	1,340	4,120	275
1886-92	10,100	1,443	1,400	200
Twenty-two Years.	30,200	1,372	5,520	251

Hence it would appear that the normal increase of floating capital in France is between 200 and 250 million dollars, or about half what it is in Great Britain. Meantime, the unfortunate result of the Panama Canal and the Dreyfus agitation have evidently had a depressing effect on French enterprise, the creation of new capital in 1897, according to *L'Economiste,* having been as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	Loans.	Companies.	Total.
Great Britain	105	545	650
Germany	90	365	455
Russia	23	125	148
France	3	77	80
Austria	32	20	52
Other countries	97	88	185
Europe	350	1,220	1,570

Although the creation of new capital since 1870 has averaged about 1,400 million dollars yearly, the actual increase has been much less. The floating capital of Europe, as already shown, rose from 26½ milliards of dollars in 1870 to 52 milliards in 1897, being an increase of only 944 millions per annum, or two-thirds of the nominal amount of new capital issued. This is easily understood when we call to mind that numbers of joint-stock enterprises either die in their infancy or have a brief existence. The lamented Neumann Spallart, shortly before his death, published a summary of the increase of floating capital in Europe, in a period of five years to the end of 1885, as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.	Yearly Average.
Loans	1,840	368
Railways	1,635	327
Banks	550	110
Mining	175	35
Electricity	150	30
Newspapers	125	25
Sundries	375	75
Total	4,850	970

The correctness of Spallart's estimate for the period in question is fully borne out by the result above alluded to, showing an increase of 944 million dollars yearly between 1870 and 1897.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The net increase of floating capital in Europe, therefore, during the last thirty years, has averaged three million dollars daily. We shall presently see what portion of the same belonged to Great Britain.

3.—OVERFLOW CAPITAL.

In some countries, notably in Great Britain, the increase of floating capital has been more rapid than the requirements of internal industries, and for this reason there has been an overflow of capital which has not only been beneficial to neighboring countries, but has fertilized many of the remote and hitherto unproductive parts of the earth's surface. On this subject, Mr. Georges Martin, of the Statistical Society of Paris, published an interesting statement, showing the number of securities of various countries quoted on the Stock Exchanges of Europe, viz.:

	Securities of				
Held by	United States.	British Colonies.	South America.	Other Countries.	Total.
Great Britain	341	473	230	569	1,613
Germany	94	0	14	483	591
Holland	128	10	11	237	386
France	3	8	26	297	334
Belgium	2	0	49	261	312
Switzerland	9	2	12	120	143
Other countries	0	0	4	21	25
Total	577	493	346	1,988	3,404

It must always be borne in mind that the same securities are, in many instances, quoted on the various Stock Exchanges of Europe, and as the number quoted in London, according to Mr. Martin, is only 1,613, we may conclude that the total does not exceed 1,700. The above table, meanwhile, affords us no guide as to the approximate amount of capital lent by one country to another. If we examine the details of Mr. Martin's researches, which are too lengthy to be given here, we find that Russian securities are largely held, not only in France, but also in Germany and Holland; that Spain and Italy draw capital from every country in Europe; and that the great bulk of Austro-Hungarian securities is held in Germany. We know, however, from independent sources, that the overflow capital of Great Britain is about 9,300 millions of dollars, that of France 2,340 millions, and we shall not be far astray if we estimate the total overflow capital of Europe at 17,000 millions, or one-third of its floating capital. No other part of the world has any overflow capital.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4.—BRITISH FLOATING CAPITAL.

The floating capital of the United Kingdom at three periods during the second half of the nineteeth century, was approximately as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	1860.	1882.	1896.
National Consols	3,700	3,500	3,200
Local Stocks	100	400	700
British Rails	1,700	3,500	5,500
" Banks	600	900	1,200
" Sundries	500	900	1,300
Home Investments	6,600	9,200	11,900
Foreign "	700	4,400	9,300
Total	7,300	13,600	21,200

The estimate made on the London Stock Exchange in 1882 showed that the gross value of securities quoted was 25 milliards of dollars, of which 13½ milliards were held in Great Britain. In 1896, the gross value would probably exceed 40 milliards, since the stocks held in the United Kingdom (as shown above) exceeded 21 milliards. The "Bankers' Magazine" gives a list of 325 first-class investments, the quotations of which in December, 1897, summed up a value of 16,400 millions of dollars; besides these, there are, as already shown, 1,300 investments of minor importance, held partially or wholly in Great Britain. The above table shows that British floating capital has trebled in 36 years, while the wealth of the nation has only doubled; the increase of the former averaged 286 million dollars yearly from 1860 to 1882, and 550 millions yearly from 1882 to 1896. Most people flatter themselves that commercial prosperity and floating capital go hand in hand, and that the latter is simply wealth in its most portable and useful form; hence its rapid increase is regarded as an unqualified blessing. This is, however, a manifest error. A country may be ruined by over banking, and in like manner by over capitalization. Therefore, a time may come when the floating capital of the United Kingdom will have reached such an amount as to cause motive for anxiety.

5.—BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

If the increase of floating capital has been surprisingly rapid, the growth of foreign investments is unprecedented in the history of nations. The Stock Exchange estimate for 1860 was 700 million dollars, or less than 10 per cent. of the floating cap-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ital, whereas in 1896 British investments abroad reached 9,300 millions, or 44 per cent. of such capital, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	1860.	1882.	1896.
Foreign Loans	300	2,000	3,200
Colonial Loans	150	1,000	2,300
Railways	150	900	2,100
Banks, Mines, etc	100	500	1,700
Total Foreign	700	4,400	9,300

To go back no further than fourteen years, we find that, while home investments show an average growth of 200 million dollars yearly, the amount of capital that emigrated annually was no less than 350 millions. Money, like water, is said to seek its level; and, as it is impossible to find suitable means in the United Kingdom for the employment of fresh capital at a given rate of interest, the capitalists are compelled to export two-thirds of it to foreign countries, where it must necessarily be exposed to extra risk in case of war or international complications. Risk, of course, implies higher interest, and the creation of so much fresh capital every year in England for exportation is only another phase or development of the gambling spirit, which is said to be inseparable from the business of the Stock Exchange. If capitalists would content themselves with less interest (and less risk), we should see the home investments increase faster than the foreign. There are numerous desirable undertakings in England for which the capital is not forthcoming. The eminent American hydraulic engineer, Mr. Corthell, in his luminous report (1898) on the growth of commerce and steam shipping since 1840, shows that it will be necessary in a few years to deepen all the harbors and docks of Great Britain, as well as of all other European countries. Another beneficent enterprise would be to build Peabody blocks in every parish of every city in England, on the basis of drawing only 2 per cent. profit on outlay, so as to provide cheap and sanitary habitations for the working classes and even for the poor. Nor would it be less praiseworthy for British millionaires to employ a portion of surplus capital in reviving those branches of manufacture in Ireland that were suppressed by penal laws of the British Parliament in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It may, indeed, be absurd to expect that motives of philanthropy or justice could have any influence in the employment of capital. Investors look for a divi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dend, and care little about legality of procedure or anything else. The Jameson raid in Africa is a fair exemplification of the moral code of joint-stock companies. Nevertheless, it is impossible to regard with equanimity the disclosures in the Hooley bankruptcy at London, or to shut our ears to the solemn warning of Lord Chief Justice Russell, at the inauguration of the new Lord Mayor, on the iniquities connected with the formation of new companies.

British capital in foreign countries has been, on the whole, a powerful agent of progress, and the effects produced by it have been in general of the most salutary kind. Like the overflow of the Nile, it has fertilized lands that would be otherwise arid and unproductive. It has opened fresh highways to commerce, and made all nations in some way tributary to England. Notwithstanding the chicanery and frauds connected with various South American loans, the people who advanced their money were the means of doing a vast amount of benefit to that part of the world, and of creating fresh markets for British manufactures.

We have, however, arrived at a period when the leaders of public opinion ought to give forth some sound advice and words of caution. The growth of floating capital must be kept within bounds, if we do not wish to see a repetition of the South Sea bubble. It is sufficiently ominous to mark that two-thirds of the fresh capital created in Great Britain since 1882 has taken the form of foreign investments. Not precisely that the United Kingdom ceases to offer any fields for investment, but that the speculative spirit is now so rampant that millions of money can be obtained, at the shortest notice, for ventures in any part of the world.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

RAILWAY POOLING AND THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

IN the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March, Mr. H. T. Newcomb, while discussing the opposition to railway pooling, takes occasion to argue in favor of the increased powers demanded by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Newcomb seems to share with the Commission its desire for very much greater power.

There has been a constant tendency on the part of the Commission and its friends to treat its demands for additional powers as a necessary adjunct to any proposition to legalize pooling, when, in fact, the two subjects are entirely distinct.

Every proposition to legalize pooling has embraced a scheme for giving the Interstate Commerce Commission supervision and control, not only of the pooling contracts but also of the rates to be maintained under them. The Commission would thereby acquire new powers of the gravest importance, but no question is made in any quarter as to the propriety of conferring such powers as an incident to the authorization of pooling.

But the Commission is not content with an increase of power limited to the control of pooling contracts, and the rates maintained thereunder. What it desires is something in no wise connected with the subject of pooling—a power to make rates generally for all the railroads in the country, on all traffic whether pooled or not, and to put those rates into effect without any resort to the courts for their enforcement.

Mr. Newcomb's description of these powers closely resembles the Commission's description of them, in that it fails to impress the reader with their real magnitude. But the amendments proposed by the Commission as embodying what it wants show clearly that the power to fix rates and the power to enforce the rates so fixed, which the Commission desires, are practically unlimited, and will really vest in the Commission as much power as is given the most powerful State railroad commission in the United States. Mr. Newcomb himself, although he speaks of the authority desired as a "limited" rate-making authority, further on in his article, seems to regard the Commission, if its demands are gratified, as an agency "for fixing all rates," which it would undoubtedly be.

Mr. Newcomb fails to state any reason why the Commission's demands should be acceded to. He says that they are only intended to make the Interstate Commerce Law mean what the public supposed it to mean at the time of its enactment. The Interstate Commerce Act confers no rate-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

making power on the Commission. In the lengthy debates in Congress preceding its enactment, the question of rate-making was rarely referred to, and the few references to it show virtually without exception that the law was not intended to give the Commission the rate-making power. The law provides no method for its enforcement, except a resort to the courts. It is impossible to understand, therefore, how any portion of the public could have thought, at the time of the enactment of the law, that it was intended to confer on the Commission the practically unlimited power to make rates, and to give "substantial finality" to its rate-making decrees.

Mr. Newcomb assumes that there is an intense public sentiment in favor of giving the Commission these tremendous powers which it is so actively seeking. There are no evidences of the existence of any such sentiment. Practically, the only cry that is heard for the granting of these powers is the cry of the Interstate Commerce Commission itself.

Although pointing out that the constant tendency of the whole modern industrial and economic organization is to secure ever cheapening transportation, by virtue of which fact railway companies now have no substantial power to determine their own rates, at any rate to the extent of securing extortionate returns, yet Mr. Newcomb intimates that the only reason railway companies can have for objecting to the Commission's aspirations is that they desire to continue to exact unreasonable compensation for the services they supply. The existence of such unreasonable rates, however, is wholly inconsistent with Mr. Newcomb's premises, and inconsistent with the facts. The Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, moreover, has admitted that rates excessive in themselves are practically obsolete.

The result of the genuine competition of trade, as Mr. Newcomb points out, is that railway rates tend uninterruptedly toward the lowest rate that will produce a revenue sufficient to meet the expense of operation and maintenance, and, in addition, the lowest recompense for capital. Nor is this tendency to reduce rates confined to what are called competitive rates. In the development of traffic, every railroad company is bound to and does make rates low enough to enable the products of so-called local or non-competitive points on its line to compete in the markets of the world with the products of sections having the most favored means of transportation. In this connection it is well to state that Mr. Newcomb is misinformed as to the policy governing the railways in the region south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, and east of the Mississippi. He says they have formulated their rate schedules in accordance with the purpose—by them freely acknowledged and warmly advocated—to foster the wholesale and jobbing business of certain cities and to compel the residents of all other cities and towns to purchase their supplies in the favored cities, while restricting the sales of the merchants located in places discriminated against to the goods to supply the retail demand of their several localities. The railway companies in that section simply recognize competitive conditions which are beyond their control and make rates necessary to meet that competition. In doing this, they do not injure any locality or give any locality an advantage which it would not have just the same independently of the action of the railways. There is no rational motive which could induce a railway company to seek to build up a business at a city enjoying competition of other lines, and at the expense of business at some point local to its own line. For, in the latter place, it is sure of all the traffic that moves, and is sure to reap the benefit of any development of the business of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the place, whereas it must divide with competing lines whatever traffic may be developed at competitive points, and may possibly get none of it at all.

It is a significant circumstance that, in the report of the Commission, made a little over a year ago, it made various gloomy predictions as to the disastrous results which would follow certain decisions (then comparatively recent) of the Supreme Court of the United States denying to the Commission rate-making powers which it had, without any authority, undertaken to exercise. Yet, in its last annual report, made in the last few months, it appears that the Commission in the year covered by that report decided only eight cases involving alleged unreasonable rates; and that in five of them the Commission found the rates to be reasonable, and in the other three it would seem that, if the Commission is correct in the view that the rates are unreasonable, it is because they are unreasonable as compared with other rates in force. If so, the law affords ample remedy for their correction.

Indeed, whatever unjust discriminations, if any, exists at present in the published rates of any railroad between localities or individuals, are susceptible of complete correction under the law as it stands. The Commission is now conducting various legal proceedings to correct certain supposed unjust discriminations between localities. In these proceedings the only question is whether the rate adjustments involved constitute unjust discriminations. If so, the courts can and will undoubtedly prevent their continuance. In view of the fact that rates in general are so very low in this country, it is clear, if any particular rates are too high, that they are out of line with the general rate adjustment, and are, therefore, unjust discriminations and can be remedied as such.

The only serious evil in the railway traffic situation of to-day is that pointed out by Mr. Newcomb of secret reductions in rates by many carriers to persons in a position to extort such concessions. While the legalization of pooling would tend to decrease the evil (although it is feared the good results will not be nearly so great as Mr. Newcomb hopes for), it can be stated without qualification that the powers demanded by the Commission would not in the slightest degree tend to prevent or alleviate these illegal discriminations. There will be just the same opportunity and just the same motive for the secret cutting of rates fixed by the Commission as there is now for cutting the legally established rates.

There is, therefore, an entire absence of any substantial reason for complying with the ambitious designs of the Commission, and certainly such radical legislation should not be enacted without real necessity.

The serious objections to conferring such unlimited power on the Commission have often been pointed out, and it is unnecessary to repeat them here. It is sufficient to say that the Commission would be wholly inadequate to the intelligent discharge of the task of making the rates for the 180,000 miles of railroad and adjusting the conflicting commercial claims of the thousands of localities in this country. The power which it would necessarily have over the comparative commercial prosperity of all the localities in this country (entirely independently of the power it would have over the railroads), would make it by far the most potent institution in the country, although it is wholly unfitted for the exercise of any extensive or substantially conclusive jurisdiction, by reason of the fact that it discharges the wholly incompatible functions of detective, prosecuting officer, party complainant and court. The Commission, moreover, has constantly evinced a disposition to disregard commercial considerations of the greatest import-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ance, and to reduce rates to a mathematical basis wholly inconsistent with the rational development of commerce. The direct tendency of their efforts has been to obstruct the general dissemination of industrial or commercial activity in any line of business, but, on the contrary, to centralize the same in that place which would, according to the Commission's mathematical views, be given a preferential rate.

It is not so clear that as between conferring upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the wholly unnecessary power to fix rates, on the one hand, and the Government's assuming the ownership of railways on the other, that railway men should be frightened into accepting the former alternative. If rates on over 180,000 miles of railroad are to be fixed by a commission of five men, who cannot possibly master the details which would be involved, with almost unlimited power to impede or obliterate innumerable channels of commerce, it might be decidedly better for the railroad interests if the Government should acquire the railroads and should itself suffer the disastrous results of such rate-making experiments. If the Government acquire the railroads, the owners of the railroads will certainly be compensated for them. In this instance, at least, the railroads will have something tangible on which to rely, but if a commission be authorized to make rates for all the railroads in this country, the damage such commission will do in interfering with the channels of commerce and in depriving many railways of species of traffic now enjoyed with profit to themselves and to the benefit of the public, will be incapable of computation and irremediable.

The fact is, however, that no such alternative is presented. The public is not suffering from extortionate rates, and is not demanding that the radical and unlimited powers sought by the Interstate Commerce Commission should be conferred upon that body. The only serious evil of the rate situation—that of secret rate-cutting and the consequent unjust discriminations—cannot possibly be reached by the amendments proposed by the Commission. All other evils of the rate situation are susceptible of complete remedy under the law as it stands.

The demands of the Commission have no connection with the subject of pooling, and should be considered purely as an independent proposition. Considered as an independent proposition, there is no necessity or excuse for granting them. The persistence of the Commission and its friends in constantly coupling these demands for general and extensive powers with the entirely distinct subject of railway pooling is of itself strong evidence that those demands are groundless and cannot stand by themselves.

MILTON H. SMITH.

WOMEN IN NEW ZEALAND.

MOMENTOUS changes were expected to follow the granting of the franchise to the women of New Zealand. Society was to be turned topsy-turvy; women were to become men and men women, or, at any rate, the sexes were to exchange places in the every-day work and political government of the world. But these extravagant prophecies have not yet come to pass in the land of the Maori. Men there are still men, and women are still their mothers, sisters, sweethearts and wives, and, socially and industrially, each sex pursues the work to which it is adapted by natural fitness or to which it is drawn by circumstance.

It is true that the enfranchisement of women has led to some note-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worthy changes. There has been an increase in the number of women's societies devoted to political organization and social reform. These, through their delegates, are co-ordinated into a National Council of the women of New Zealand. This council was founded in April, 1896, just two years and a half after women obtained the political franchise. It meets once a year; its session lasts about ten days and its members read papers and discuss resolutions which they believe to have a practical bearing upon the well-being of society. As the council represents thousands of persons who possess votes, its deliberations are watched by public men, and in many instances its recommendations are given effect to by the government, in either administrative or legislative reform.

At first the National Council of women had to put up with jibes and jeers, especially from the newspapers; but it has survived that ordeal and is now seriously accepted as a public institution. True, there are people who misjudge and misrepresent it. Not long since, one newspaper devoted to religion wrote disparagingly of the members as being imbued with "a dislike of motherhood, a love of money, a desire for power and a love of publicity," and charged them with clamoring for "a lax marriage and an easy divorce law." This, however, is in no just sense a true bill; in fact it is true only as a typical expression of the prevailing human characteristic described by the poet who says:

> "'Yes, and the creed of man's whole crew
> Is, 'Do forever as we do,
> Else be then damned; and leave us still
> To go whatever way we will,
> Or we shall damn thee.'"

As a matter of fact, neither the Wild Woman nor the New Woman of the comic papers has yet come to the front in New Zealand, and it is doubtful if either species exists in the colony. Of course, if the term New Woman is fairly applicable to women of character and culture, merely because they desire to effect reform called for on the broad principle of social justice, then it may be applied to a good many women in New Zealand. Judged by their representatives in the National Council, the women of New Zealand stand by the principle that, morally, constitutionally and economically, they are as much citizens as men. They, therefore, wish to share, equally with men, all the rights of citizenship, and to see the moral code which is applied to them as individuals and citizens applied with equal emphasis to men. Whether this creed is capable of being carried out in practice, whether men are or ever will be willing and able to adjust themselves to it, is a thing apart; but the object of its upholders is, beyond doubt, the betterment of society. They do not wish to kick the beam, but to establish a just balance as between the members of the state.

Amongst New Zealand women, this principle of common citizenship is the principle whence they start and to which they return in all their efforts as reformers. For instance, in advocating the economic independence of women, they do not seek to separate or discriminate between the interests of man and wife, but to get the law to recognize their equality as economic factors in the household and the state. This is already done by men with a logical and civilized sense of justice; and the advanced women wish, by means of the law and public opinion, to bring social usage generally into line with the principle. Then amendment is proposed in the law of divorce, not to facilitate divorce *per se*, or to undermine the institution of marriage,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but to adjust the moral obligations of the sexes, by placing man and wife on an equal footing under the law. Equal pay for equal work, in callings open to both men and women, is asked for on similar grounds; firstly, as a matter of economic justice, and, secondly, in order that the woman, as a citizen, may have the same opportunities and the same advantages as the man, and be under no temptation to accept, for economic reasons, the first offer of marriage that is made to her.

So with other reforms. Women in New Zealand, like women elsewhere, are, of course, influenced by their feelings; but, in advocating matters of public policy, they are seldom at a loss for sound constitutional or economic reasons. For instance, in asking for special legislative and administrative machinery to deal educationally with the waifs and strays of society, they plead humanity, it is true, but they take their stand chiefly on the ground that society suffers, not only morally but economically, by having citizens who have not enjoyed human sympathy and educational care in their youth.

Notwithstanding the good sense exhibited by women in connection with these and other matters, there are, in New Zealand as elsewhere, grave and reverend persons who regard the whole woman movement as reactionary, and even look upon it as a menace to the very foundations of society. But, surely, they may possess their souls in patience. Man need have no fear, at least, that women will unfeminize themselves. They will still be mothers, sisters, sweethearts and wives, and it will be only in exceptional cases that they will compete directly with men in governing the world, or in doing its more strenuous work. There are vocations of paramount importance to which women are never likely to turn their serious attention; for example, those of the navigator, the explorer, the soldier, the pioneer, the bushfeller, teamster, roadman, engineer, builder and bridgemaker. But, as a citizen, woman's human and economic value is equal to that of man, and, therefore, in citizenship, she claims to be in every respect the man's equal. On this plane there must be no economic or other distinctions. This is all that is meant by the woman movement—at least in New Zealand.

JOHN CHRISTIE.

WHEAT PRODUCTION FROM A FARMER'S STANDPOINT.

WITHOUT presuming to attack any position taken by Mr. Hyde in the February REVIEW, can it not be shown that the danger of a wheat famine in 1931 is, perhaps, purely imaginary? Mr. Hyde overlooks the possibilities of greater production upon the present area of improved land, except as it may be aided by science. It is to this feature that, omitting what may be expected from methods not already in use, the discussion will be confined.

For several years prices have, quite generally, been unremunerative and production consequently limited. Farmers have refrained from hiring help and have contented themselves with what could be produced by the family. I know of no farm that is yielding to its fullest capacity; yet some are producing more than twice as much per acre as adjoining farms equally good.

To illustrate: A farm of 200 acres, 160 of which are improved, receiving careful treatment and above the average condition of farms in the vicinity, has a cash income of from $600 to $700 yearly as the result of the work of two men. An adjoining farm of 40 acres, with the same labor, averages about $500. A "river" farm of 40 acres, with a little more work, gives about $1,000.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Small holdings, diversity of crops, and profitable prices will more than double our production without any increase in the area of improved land. France, with nine times our population to the square mile, produced over eight bushels of wheat *per capita* for the five years ending with 1897. Our production for the same period was but little more than seven bushels *per capita*. Let us see what that means.

As it would be manifestly unfair to compare France with the entire United States, let us take these twelve States: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. This is our great agricultural region and is primarily as fertile as France. These States have an area 3.7 times that of France. Her population is 38,000,000. At the same ratio the States in question should contain a population of 140,000,000. At eight bushels *per capita* they would produce 1,120,000,000 bushels or 400,000,000 more than Mr. Hyde says we shall need.

Should these states reach the average already attained by Iowa, they would produce as much of the principal crops as does the whole United States at present. From 1870 to 1896, the North Atlantic States averaged 14.1 bushels of wheat. Mr. Hyde speaks of the very high average obtained by the Western States because of irrigation. For the same period their average was but 14.2. From 1890 to 1896, the North Atlantic States stood 14.9 against 14.7 for the Western States. In corn, the North Atlantic States exceeded all other sections, and were above the average in the production of oats.

There is no evidence that the yield will be less in the future than in the past. Quite the contrary is probable.

Let the great region, the Central States, adopt the methods which obtain in the Eastern States, and a marvelous increase in yield will surely follow.

The silo is adding very greatly to the productiveness of farms in the Eastern States. Every silo decreases the number of acres required to keep a cow, adds to the area that may be devoted to other crops and lessens the demand for Western corn. Yet we are only at the beginning of the experiment.

Is the result which has been suggested impossible of achievement? If so, there are still left three-fourths of the area of our country to contribute toward the deficiency.

For the four years ending with 1896, we exported to France a little less than four and a half million bushels annually. With a much greater consumption *per capita* than ours, she is very nearly self-supporting. With as dense a population, the Central States would have more than the total estimated population of the United States in 1931. Wherein are their agricultural possibilities inferior to the present attainments of France?

G. A. PARCELL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED